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# SKETCHES, &c.

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# SKETCHES

OF

## THE CHARACTER, MANNERS,

AND

## PRESENT STATE

OF THE

# HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND:

WITH DETAILS OF

## THE MILITARY SERVICE

OF

## THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

BY

COLONEL DAVID STEWART.

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'Tis wonderful
That an invisible instinct should frame them
To loyalty unlearned; honour untaught;
Civility not seen from others; valour
That wildly grows in them, but yields a crop
As if it had been sowed.

SHAKESPEARE.

VOL. II.

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# NOTES

EXPLANATORY OF

# THE MAP OF THE CLANS.

It is proper to state, that the divisions into which the clans are arranged on the Map, are not intended to indicate that the chiefs, or heads of the principal branches of all the clans, were the sole proprietors of the lands classed under their names. In several instances, they were only occupiers and tenants at will of the lands on which they and their forefathers lived for ages. But, while the clansmen obeyed and followed the chiefs of their family and kindred, the superiors and proprietors of their lands seldom held any authority or feudal control, except in cases where the superior and his people entertained similar political views and sentiments. * The lands thus occupied by different clans and tribes, either as proprietors or tenants, are generally called their "Country" or territory; Brae Lochaber, for example, which was occupied for near five hundred years by the Macdonells of Keppoch, and their numerous descendants, is called "Keppoch's Country," although the fee-simple of the property has always been vested in the families of Gordon and Mackintosh. The Dukes of Gordon and Argyle were feudal superiors of the whole of the Camerons' Country, the former nobleman being also proprietor of part of the lands,

* Nothing can be more erroneous than an opinion, often repeated, and therefore sometimes believed, that whatever side the feudal superior took in any great political question or contest, he was invariably followed by his subservient adherents. The instances to the contrary are too numerous to be mentioned at present, and are highly creditable to the spirit of independence which long distinguished the clansmen.

as also of a considerable portion of Badenoch, the Country of the Macphersons, many of whom are his Grace's tenants. Indeed, this clan is so numerous in that extensive district, that, except in the case of an accidental emigration from the Duke's Lowland estates, there is not a tenant of the name of Gordon throughout its whole extent.

The Duke of Atholl possesses a very extensive property in Athole; but the district has, for centuries, been called the Country of the Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergusons, &c. With the exception of the Duke, there is not in the whole district a proprietor or occupier of land of the name of Murray; but many descendants, whose forefathers sprung from the Atholl family prior to the change of their name from Stewart to Murray, are still to be found in the glens of Athole.

Part of two large parishes on the estate of Sutherland, including Strathnaver, from which the family derives its secondary title, is situated in Lord Reay's Country, or, as it is called in Gaelic, the Territory of the Mackays. The ranks of the Sutherland regiment of 1793 bore evidence to the propriety of this appellation, as *one hundred and four William Mackays* were in the corps, and seventeen in one company, Captain Sackville Sutherland's.

The small clans or tribes of Maclarens of Balquhidder, in Perthshire, Macintyres of Argyle, Macreas of Ross, Gunns of Sutherland, and several others, were not proprietors, but, from the earliest history of the clans, till a very recent period, occupied their lands in undisturbed succession.

In defining the divisions and different territories on the Map, it was impossible to attain the correctness of a measured plan; consequently, there are some large estates, belonging to other proprietors, included in districts called after a particular clan; but I hope this outline will afford a general, and tolerably correct, idea of the locality of the Highland clans, and will tend to illustrate the Lord President Forbes's Memorial on their Territories, Military Force, and Patronymics. As this document was drawn up in 1746 and 1747, the divisions are in general made to suit that period. Hence the estates attached to the Castles of Comrie and Shian, and the lands of Aberfeldy, are included in the Country of Menzies, as they were in 1746, although they are now the property of the Earl of Breadalbane. There have been many other changes of property since that period.

# REFERENCES

TO THE

# MAP OF THE CLANS.

No.

1. SINCLAIRS.
2. MACKAYS.
3. SUTHERLANDS, including the GUNNS, or CLAN-GUINN.
4. ROSSES; formerly, when the chiefs of this clan were Earls of Ross, they possessed a large portion of the county.
5. MUNROES.
6. MACKENZIES, including their ancient followers, the MACRAES.
7. MACLEODS. This clan formerly possessed the Island of Lewis, and the district of Assynt, in the county of Ross.
8. MACDONALDS of Sleate.
9. MACKINNONS.
10. MACDONELLS of Glengarry.
11. MACDONALD of Clanronald. *
12. CAMERONS.
13. MACDONELLS of Keppoch.
14. MACPHERSONS.
15. FRASERS.
16. GRANT of Glenmoriston.
17. CHISHOLMS.
18. MACKINTOSHES, including the MACGILLIVRAYS, MACBEANS, &c.
19. GRANTS of Grant.
20. GORDONS. In Glenlivet, and in the Braes of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, the GORDONS, STEWARTS, and FORBESES, are so intermixed, that their lands cannot be separately classed.

* Although the chieftains of Macdonald are separately numbered, agreeably to the President's Memorial, they form only one clan. The branches of the Stewart family are likewise numbered separately, although they are but one clan. This applies to other clans when the name is repeated.

No.

21. FARQUHARSONS.

22. STEWARTS of Athole, including ROBERTSONS, FERGUSONS, &c. Also the STEWARTS of Grandtully.

23. ROBERTSONS.

24. MENZIES. It has been mentioned that Glenquaich, and other parts of the estate of Breadalbane, were the property of this clan. They have also been for a long period superiors of part of Glenlyon. The MACDIARMIDS in this glen are considered one of the most ancient names in the Highlands.

25. MACNABS.

26. MACGREGORS. This clan was once numerous in Glenorchy, and also in the district of Fearnan,—on the north side of Loch Tay,—on the south side of Glenlyon,—and on the north side of Loch Rannoch.

27. In Monteith and Strathearn, the GRAHAMS, STEWARTS, and DRUMMONDS, are intermixed in the same manner as the landholders and tenants in the Braes of Banff and Aberdeen.

28. BUCHANANS. The lands of this clan formerly extended eastward to Kippen, in Stirlingshire.

29. MACFARLANES.

30. COLQUHOUNS.

31. STUARTS of Bute.

32. LAMONTS. This family formerly held considerable superiorities in Knapdale and Cowal.

33. MACLACHLANES.

34. MACNAUGHTONS.

35. CAMPBELLS. The property of the chief, chieftains, and gentlemen of this clan, extends from the south point of Kintyre, in Argyleshire, to the district of Grandtully, in Perthshire, two miles below Tay Bridge. The LAMONTS, MACLACHLANES, MACNABS, &c. &c. are occasionally intermixed, but their lands bear a small proportion to the great tract of country possessed or occupied by the clan CAMPBELL. The extent of Lord Breadalbane's property will be seen by glancing over the Map, from the Island of Eisdale, in Argyleshire, to Grandtully Castle.

36. MACDOUGALLS. The lands occupied by this clan are so scattered, that, except the estate of the chief, and two others in his immediate neighbourhood, they cannot be distinguished.

37. MACDONALDS of Glenco.

38. STEWARTS of Appin.

39. MACLEANS, including the MACQUARRIES. Morven on the Mainland, and part of the Isle of Mull, now the property of the Duke of Argyle, was formerly the inheritance of this clan.

40. MACNEILS.

# PART III.

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## MILITARY ANNALS

OF THE

## HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

# PART III.

## SECTION XXI.

*Opening of the campaign of* 1813—*Lord Wellington reaches Salamanca—Moves against the enemy, who retreat towards Vittoria—Battle of Vittoria, and total rout of the French—Subsequent operations—Blockade of Pampluna—Siege of San Sebastian—Suspended—Soult succeeded in forcing two passes in the Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Decisive battle of the* 30*th of July, in which Soult is driven back into France—Siege of San Sebastian resumed—Fall of the place, after an obstinate defence—Lord Wellington advances into France—Crosses the Bidassoa—Forces the enemy's position—Soult retreats to his intrenched camp at Bayonne—Series of desperate actions—Soult forced to abandon his intrenched camp—Sir J. Hope blockades Bayonne—Battle of Orthés—Total defeat of the French—Subsequent movements of both armies—Marshal Beresford sent to Bourdeaux—His reception by the inhabitants—Blockade of Bayonne—British, under Sir J. Hope, cross the Adour below the city—Sortie of the garrison—Sir J. Hope wounded and made prisoner—Defeat of Soult at Tarbes—His retreat nearly cut off—Battle of Toulouse—Defeat of Soult—Evacuation of the town after the battle—Abdication of Buonaparte—Restoration of Louis XVIII.—Short peace—General remarks on the Highland soldiers, and Highlanders in general.*

The successful campaign of 1812 led to another of equal difficulty, and of arduous enterprise, in which the consummate talents of the Commander had ample scope for their exertion. The troops were soon refreshed from their fatigues, and, being reinforced from England, and supplied with the necessary equipments for the field, active operations commenced by a forward movement to Salamanca, which was now occu-

pied by the British for the third time, on the 24th of May, and that celebrated city once more delivered from a foreign yoke. Sir R. Hill's division was stationed between the Tormes and the Douro, Sir Thomas Graham commanding the left wing at Miranda de Douro. The enemy gave way to the progress of the allies, and Valladolid was evacuated on the 4th June. On the 12th General Hill attacked and defeated, with little loss on his part, the division under General Reille, General Ponsonby at the same time turning the right of the French. These manœuvres quickened the retreat of the enemy, who, in his progress, blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had bestowed so much labour in the preceding year, and which they had so gallantly defended.

Thus it would appear, that the able dispositions and movements of the Commander-in-Chief of the allies, and the improved state of his army, had completely turned the course of events. The enemy directed their march on Vittoria, their central depôt in the frontier provinces, occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guards, and on the 20th Lord Wellington made a disposition of his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. Here the enemy made a stand, seemingly with an intention of resisting the farther progress of the allies.

On this march and pursuit of the enemy, the influence of hope, and of the prospect of success, on the mens' minds, was strongly exemplified; for while, on the retreat from Burgos, the soldiers were desponding and disorderly, careless of their character, and regardless of the orders of their officers,—now, in pursuit of the same enemy, the most perfect regularity and the greatest cheerfulness prevailed, the buoyancy of the mind invigorating the body, and no privation or fatigue being thought or complained of. In a long march of more than 250 miles, (frequently extending to 60 miles in three days,) under the burning sun of a Spanish summer, and although the soldiers were loaded with arms, ammunition, and necessaries to the weight of three and four stones, yet, as an example of the condition of the

troops, Lord Dalhousie's division, consisting of 6000 men, arrived at Vittoria with less than 150 sick.

Such was the perfect state of this high-spirited army, when, on the morning of the 21st of June, they marched, in three columns, to take possession of the heights in front of Vittoria; the right being commanded by General Hill, the centre by Lord Dalhousie and General Cole, and the left by General Graham. From thence the French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, was seen drawn up, with their right supported by Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadorra, the centre on a height commanding the valley of Zadorra, and the left resting on the heights between Arunez and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies amounted to about 70,000 men each.

General Hill commenced the operations of this memorable day by an attack on the heights of Puebla, on which, as already stated, the enemy's left rested, and which he speedily carried, but the enemy being reinforced from the centre, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, * with the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, were sent to the support of the troops who had already gained the heights. The contest at this point was peculiarly obstinate, as the enemy discovering, when it was too late, the importance of the position which they had lost, and which they had not strengthened with the necessary care, made the most strenuous and persevering efforts to regain possession of it. At length, however, they were forced back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra, which, from the melting of the snows on the Pyrenees at that season of the year, was not fordable. The enemy having neglected to destroy the bridges, Sir Rowland Hill passed over at that of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sa-

* This brave young man was mortally wounded in Sir Rowland Hill's attack on the heights on the enemy's left. Finding his end approaching, he directed that he should be carried to a height that he might contemplate, to the last moment, the scene in which he had borne so honourable a part.

bijana de Alava, and retained possession of it in defiance of repeated attempts to regain it. Immediately subsequent to the gaining of this advantage by Sir Rowland Hill, the fourth and light divisions crossed the Zadorra, at two different points; and almost at the same instant the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendonza, while the third under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, while General Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. These combined movements, admirably planned, and gallantly executed, completely neutralized and defeated the combinations and manœuvres of the enemy, who, dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had already weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid but orderly retreat to Vittoria. During this proceeding, Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra, which nearly intercepted their communication with Bayonne. To preserve this passage, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zadorra. To dispossess the enemy of these positions, which covered the only road by which they could retreat to Bayonne, Colonel Longa, with a Spanish division, and General Pack, with the Portuguese, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade, and the 5th division of infantry under General Oswald, were ordered to force these two points, while General Graham attacked the village of Abechuco. All these attacks were completely successful; the Spanish and Portuguese conducting themselves with great gallantry.

While these operations were going on at Abechuco, the enemy made every effort to regain the village of Gamarra Mayor, but they were repulsed by General Oswald's division at every point; and, as soon as the centre of the allies had penetrated to the town of Vittoria, the enemy retreated with great precipitation. The success of the troops under

General Graham having cut off the retreat by the great road to France, the enemy, seeing that all was lost, fled towards Pampluna, the only other road left open, a difficult and circuitous route, on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The different French corps being thus beaten and thrown back on one another, they got into inextricable confusion; and, as the pressure increased by the precipitation of the retreat, the greatest part must either have surrendered or been cut to pieces, if the difficult nature of the broken country, intersected by hills, small ravines, and ditches, had not prevented the artillery from being brought forward, and the cavalry from acting with effect.

As it was, they abandoned all their baggage and artillery, except one gun and one howitzer, which those who were foremost on the retreat were able to carry off, but the gun was taken on the following day; so that one howitzer was all that remained of 151 pieces of cannon, protected by an army of upwards of 70,000 men, now completely scattered and beaten, leaving behind them stores, baggage, public and private,—every thing, in short, that constitutes the materiel of an army. *

It is impossible to contemplate this complete overthrow of a great army without sentiments of unmixed pleasure and exultation, heightened, as this must be, by the consideration, that the influence of former victories, and an increasing respect for the discipline and courage of the army, began to be displayed; for, although both wings of the enemy's lines fought with great desperation, the usual impetuosity of the French in attack was, on the whole, much abated. Their former confidence had been considerably subdued by what they had already seen and heard of the superior mili-

* It is singular enough that England has twice triumphed almost on the same spot. In the proudest days of her martial fame in former times, a great victory was achieved by Edward the Black Prince, near the same spot, where he defeated the usurper of the Spanish throne, who was also supported by the troops of France. The victories of England have often been fatal to usurpers.

tary talents of the British Commander, nobly supported as he was by his brave army.

On reaching Pampluna, and being refused admittance, such was the panic of the enemy, that they attempted to force into the garrison by scaling the walls, and were only prevented by the guns being turned upon them. This caused so much delay, that the rear of the flying army was in sight when General Hill's division approached. His pursuit in that direction was momentarily checked by a fire from the town; but, leaving this fortress to its fate, he pushed through the Pyrenees, driving the French from one position to another till the 7th of July, when he reached and took post on the summit of the Pass of Mayor, "those lofty heights, which," as the French general indignantly lamented, "enabled him proudly to survey their fertile vallies." *

While the right was so well employed, General Graham made a movement to the left to intercept General Foy, then on his march to join Jourdan; but, when the latter heard of the defeat of the French army, he hastily retired. Attempting to make a stand at Tolosa, he was quickly driven from thence, and pursued beyond the Spanish boundaries. This part of the north of Spain being now cleared of the enemy, with the exception of Pampluna and San Sebastian, it was resolved to blockade the former, and lay siege to the latter. The latter part of this service was entrusted to General Graham.

San Sebastian being next in strength to Gibraltar, and the key of one of the entrances into France, no exertion had been spared to put it in the best possible state of defence. †

* Soult's proclamation.

† San Sebastian was formerly one of the finest cities in Spain, and is situated on a peninsula, running nearly east and west, having its northern side washed by the river Urumea, and the southern by the sea, and being about a league distant from Passages. When besieged, the defences of the place were very formidable. On the line that crosses the isthmus at right angles had been constructed a double line of works, consisting of the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis, while those erected along the peninsula, in a longitudinal direction,

On the 14th of July the batteries opened on the convent of St Bartolomeo, and on the 17th this strong hold, though fortified with a protecting work, and a steep hill on its left flank, was so nearly destroyed, that General Graham ordered both to be stormed. This attack was made by the division under General Oswald, and executed with such determination and vigour, that a strong body of men who defended the posts could not withstand the impetuosity of our troops, who got possession of both. On the 25th two breaches being supposed practicable, they were assaulted by a party of 2000 men. They advanced with their usual resolution, but, after an obstinate contest against a numerous enemy, the troops were obliged to be recalled, having sustained a very severe loss; and, as other events called away the attention of the Commander-in-Chief, the siege was for the present suspended.

Marshal Soult, who had been recently appointed to the command of the French, having collected an army on the north side of the Pyrenees, was now ready to advance and attempt to force the positions occupied by the allies. These positions were, by nature, almost impregnable; each formed a strong hold of itself either on an elevated hill, or as commanding a pass or ravine. But it was necessary to occupy a great extent of country, containing a range of bold

formed only a single line, and were built without any cover, from a calculation that the water in front would render them inaccessible. The error of this calculation is the more unaccountable, as the Urumea, for some hours both before and after low water, is fordable, and the tide ebbs so much that there is a large space left dry along the left bank of the river, so that troops can march to the very foot of the wall. With regard to the northern line of defence, it is quite exposed, from the top to the bottom, to a range of hills on the right bank of the river, at the distance of 600 or 700 yards from the works. In 1701, Marshal the Duke of Berwick breached the town wall from these heights, while he pushed his approaches along the neck of land, and formed a lodgment in the covered way. The town surrendered by capitulation, and the governor, with the garrison, retired into the castle.

and precipitous mountains, intersected in every direction, but more particularly from north to south, by deep passes, ravines, and vallies, which, in a confined space, afforded the best means of defence. But a distance of sixty miles now intervened between San Sebastian on the left, and the outward post on the right of the allied army at Roncesvalles. To command every pass, therefore, was impossible; some must either be left open to the entrance of an enemy, or so weakly guarded, that Soult might force through, and turning the flank of one position, get in rear of another, and thus endanger the whole.

These mountains had, in former times, been the scenes of many desperate rencounters, and the grave of many a valiant knight. The valley of Roncesvalles, now the station of Brigadier-General Byng's brigade, had been celebrated in many a heroic ballad and romance, as the field of battle in which Charlemagne met his celebrated defeat. The mountain passes in the possession of the allies were the valley of Roncesvalles on the right, occupied by Major-General Byng's brigade, and General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, and in support of which at Piscarret was posted Lieutenant-General Cole's division, with General Picton's in reserve at Olaque: Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-General William Stewart's, and Silviera's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Condé de Amaran, occupied the valley of Bastan, and the Pass of Maya: Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade was detached to Los Alduidos. The heights of St Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division; Brigadier-General Pack's being in reserve at St Estevan. General Longa's Spanish division preserved the communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham, and the Condé de Abisbal blockaded Pampluna.

Marshal Soult having collected a great and numerous force, formed his plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army. On the 25th of July he advanced at the

head of upwards of 36,000 men against Roncesvalles, while General Count d'Erlon, with 13,000 men, advanced on the Pass of Maya. General Byng was so hard pressed by this overwhelming force, the numbers of which enabled them to attack several parts of the position at once, that, although reinforced by part of the division of Sir Lowry Cole, he was obliged, in order to preserve his communication, to descend from the heights that commanded the Pass; and thus situated, he was attacked by Soult, and driven back to the top of the mountain; while the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of General Cole's division, were compelled to retire, with considerable loss, and to take up a position in the rear. This they maintained till the evening, when General Cole, seeing a superior force in his front, and another on his flank, endeavouring to get round to his rear, retired as soon as it became dark to Lizoain, where he was joined by Brigadier-General Campbell, from Alduidos. On the 26th General Picton moved forward to support the troops at Lizoain, on which place Soult advanced after mid-day, when General Picton retired, keeping up a skirmishing fire till he reached a strong position, in which he formed in order of battle.

During these proceedings, Count d'Erlon advanced against all the narrow ridges occupied by some battalions near the post of Maya, and being superior in numbers to those who occupied them, or could be brought up to their support, he forced them to give way; but they were promptly supported by Brigadier-General Barnes's brigade. A series of spirited actions ensued, the weight of which fell upon Major-Generals Pringle's and Walker's brigades, of Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart's division. The gallantry of the 20th and 92d was particularly noticed. Nothing material occurred on the 26th, but General Hill, hearing of the retrograde movements of the troops from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and there took up a strong position. On the 27th Sir T. Picton resumed his retreat, the troops meanwhile being much dejected at this temporary reverse so soon after their late successful achieve-

ments; but the appearance of Lord Wellington seemed to act like electricity. They hailed his presence as the omen of returning victory, and when he gave orders to halt, and prepare to meet the enemy, all was animation and energy. He had been with the army before San Sebastian when he heard of the events on his right; and, hastening to the scene of action, directed the troops in reserve to move forward in support of the divisions opposed to the enemy. General Picton's division he formed on a ridge, on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on high grounds between that river and the Lanz. General Hill was posted behind the Lizasso, ready to support the positions in front; but on the arrival of General Pakenham on the 28th, he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarem, under a high mountain, on the left of which Soult had formed his army; but, before the ground had been fully occupied by the British divisions, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. After a short but severe contest, Soult was driven back with immense loss.

Disappointed in this attempt, Soult brought forward a strong column, and advanced up the hill against the centre of the allies, on the left of General Cole's line. Of this post the French obtained a temporary possession, but the Fusileers running up, drove them back with the bayonet. They returned to the charge, but were again quickly repulsed. Another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th regiment, was posted. The former gave way, but the 40th drove the enemy down the hill again with great loss.

It was now a general battle along the whole line, which was completely covered by the sharpshooters of the enemy. Under this cover he pushed forward strong bodies, which were uniformly repulsed; the defeat on every successive attack being attended with more loss than on the preceding. The contest was principally carried on by the bayonet: the 7th, 20th, 33d, and 48th, charged four times. On one occasion

a part of the 48th charged in front, while the other charged in flank.

On the following day Lord Dalhousie's division from the left reinforced the centre. This induced Soult to withdraw a body of troops from his strong position in front of the right of the British, trusting that, from the nature of the ground, the remainder would be able to maintain themselves against any force that might be brought to oppose them, and to attempt to turn the left of the position. His hopes of success from this movement do not appear to have been very confident, as he had previously ordered his artillery back to France; a pretty conclusive proof of the impression made upon him by the preceding actions. Lord Wellington, instantly availing himself of this reduction of force in his front, determined to attempt the position, although apparently almost impregnable. On the morning, therefore, of the 30th, Lord Dalhousie made an admirably conducted attack on the heights on the right, which was executed with much gallantry by Brigadier-General Inglis's brigade. During this operation, Sir T. Picton succeeded in turning their left, while General Pakenham, at the same time, drove them from the village of Ostiz. Amidst such a series of arduous and successful attempts, an attack in front was made by General Cole's division, upon which the enemy abandoned "a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops,"* and were pursued beyond Olaque, in the neighbourhood of which Sir R. Hill had been hotly engaged during the whole day, and had repulsed every attack made by Count d'Erlon, and the troops sent by Soult for the purpose of driving him back on Pampluna. In consequence of this success, the General took possession of the heights of Eguarrus, which enabled him to set all the efforts of the enemy at defiance.

On the night of the 31st the main body of the enemy re-

* Lord Wellington's Dispatches.

treated, leaving a strong body posted on a mountain, at the Pass of Donna Maria, from which they were next day dislodged: Lord Dalhousie on the one side, and Sir R. Hill on the other, ascended the hills, and General Barnes's brigade of the 50th, 71st, and Gordon Highlanders, whose gallantry had been so often conspicuous, pushed up a steep ascent, in defiance of all resistance, and against double its number. The enemy, however favoured by the natural strength of the country, could not withstand such resolute and undaunted movements, and were forced back at all points.

In this manner position after position was successfully turned in flank, or taken in front, at the point of the bayonet, so that, on the 2d of August, the allies occupied the same position which they did on the 25th of July, when Soult commenced those operations which were to retrieve the disgrace of Vittoria, and to conclude with driving the allies from Spain.

In this important, complicated, and lengthened engagement of so many days, on ground the most difficult, and in some places almost impassable, so that, on several occasions, it was necessary to climb precipices to the point of attack, during which the men were fully exposed to the shot of their opponents above, success, with a comparatively moderate loss, was certainly the more honourable. *

On this occasion the 42d and 79th Highlanders did not belong to those brigades whose good fortune it was to be more actively engaged, but the Gordon Highlanders, who had more than once to attack and oppose the enemy, fully supported their former character. Unfortunately it was not my lot to serve with this army, and consequently I have not been able to procure any particular information, or to learn any characteristic anecdotes of the Highland regiments, either as a body, or as individuals. Such an illustration would be interesting, as tending to show the character and habits of Highland soldiers as contrasted with those of former times.

* See the amount of the killed and wounded in the Appendix.

The siege of San Sebastian, which had been suspended on the advance of Soult, was now resumed on his discomfiture, and pressed with much ardour. A continued fire from eighty pieces of cannon was opened. The enemy withstood this with a courage and perseverance the more commendable, as the late defeat of their friends left them but small hopes of succour. On the morning of the 31st of August, a practicable breach having been made, the troops advanced to the assault. Notwithstanding the extent of the breach, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and this only by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward in succession from the trenches, but each time, on attaining the summit, a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within destroyed all who offered to remain, and "No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge." * It was at this critical moment that General Graham, confiding in the perfection to which the artillery had been brought, and in the unshaken steadiness of the troops, with admirable presence of mind, ordered the fire of the artillery to be directed against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach, who were astonished at this fire from their friends. Playing with unparalleled accuracy, it checked the enemy's fire, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence under the correct and undeviating aim of the guns in their rear. After the most persevering exertions for two hours at the breach, an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts causing some confusion, the assailants redoubled their efforts, and the men assisted each other over the walls and ruins. But it was not till an hour afterwards that the enemy were driven from the complicated works, which they had so resolutely defended. They retreated with great loss

* General Graham's Dispatches.

to the castle, leaving the town, a heap of ruins, in possession of the assailants, who had also to deplore the loss of many valuable lives. But a place of such strength, and of such importance to the future operations of either party, and so defended, must, of course, be dearly purchased.

Aware of the great importance of this fortress, Soult collected a force of nearly 40,000 men, and, with an intention of raising the siege, crossed the Bidassoa on the very day when the assault took place. This attempt, after repeated attacks, in which the brigades of Generals Inglis and Ross, and a division of the Spanish army, were actively engaged, had been as unsuccessful as the former. The conduct of the Spaniards at the post of St Marcial, the defence of which had been entrusted to them, was particularly noticed "as being equal to that of any troops which the Commander-in-Chief had ever seen engaged." * Thus the French saw themselves beaten by the Spanish soldiers, whom they had formerly accustomed themselves to despise; and their humiliation at this defeat must have been rendered more acute by the recollection of those times when a French army believed that an advance to battle was a prelude to certain victory, often obtained on too easy terms. As nothing inspires a man with greater courage than the belief that there is no danger or hazard of victory, so nothing cools an advance, or breaks the resolution of troops, sooner than the presentiment of defeat on any rencounter with an enemy. Not that the French evinced a loss of energy, or a want of determination to fight, however unsuccessful they might be. Their gallantry, under discouraging reverses, was proved at San Sebastian, as well as by the loss the allies sustained, amounting to more than 2000 men in killed and wounded.

On the 7th of October Lord Wellington entered France, crossing the Bidassoa, at low water, near its mouth. General Graham, with a combined force of British and Portu-

* General Orders.

guese, attacked and carried the entrenchments of Andayo, which were gallantly defended by the enemy. General Don Manuel Freyre, with a Spanish division, crossed higher up, and drove the enemy from their works. General Alten, with the light division, encountered more difficulty, but was equally successful. He drove the enemy from a succession of redoubts, raised one over the other, on steep and difficult ascents. General Giron's division of Spanish troops attacked and carried the lower part of the mountain La Rhune, but on their subsequent attempt to ascend to the second position, they found the obstructions insurmountable. However, on the following morning, the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position, when they withdrew and left it to be occupied by the Spaniards. All these operations were accomplished with the usual spirit of the assailants; the 9th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel John Cameron, which met with more opposition than any other, was particularly distinguished, as were likewise the 52d, the 95th, and the 1st and 2d Caçadores.

General Graham having thus established the army within the French territories, he resigned his command to the Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, now appointed second in command.

On the 31st of October Pamplona surrendered after a blockade of four months. This acquisition rendered the whole of the allied force disposable; and as the weather had now become very severe on the high ridges of the Pyrenees, Lord Wellington lost no time in commencing operations, and carrying the war into France. After the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position, with their right upon the sea, at a short distance from St Jean de Luz, their centre on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a strong height in the rear of Ainhoe.

The whole of this naturally strong position, especially their right, they had fortified with the greatest care. Heavy falls of snow and rain obliged Lord Wellington to defer,

till the 10th of November, his attempt to force the enemy's centre, and establish the allied army in rear of their right. The attack was to be made in columns of divisions. Sir Rowland Hill, with Sir William Stewart's, Sir Henry Clinton's, Sir John Hamilton's Portuguese, and General Morilla's Spanish divisions, formed the right; the centre, under Marshal Beresford, consisted of Sir Thomas Picton's, (in his absence, commanded by General Colville,) Sir L. Cole's and Lord Dalhousie's divisions, (commanded in his absence by General Le Cor,) Baron Alten's light division, and the Spanish reserve under Generals Giron and Freyre; the left, commanded by Sir John Hope, consisted of Major Generals Howard's and Oswald's, Brigadier-Generals Wilson's and Bradford's Portuguese brigades, and Lord Aylmer's independent British brigade;—the whole amounting to more than 85,000 men.

On the morning of the 10th, the allies moved forward to the enemy's lines. General Hill marched against the left, while Marshal Beresford was to attack the centre, supported on his left by the Spanish division of General Giron; and, in the mean time, the light division and General Longa's were to attack La Petite Rhune. General Hope was directed to move against all the lines from the centre to the sea.

General Cole's division commenced the operations; and, after a short but hot cannonade against the principal redoubt in front of Sare, the troops advanced with such expedition, that several of the enemy were taken in the redoubt before it could be evacuated. That on the left being also evacuated in the same haste on the approach of General Le Cor, General Cole's division then attacked and took possession of the village, which had already been turned on the right by Generals Colville's and Le Cor's divisions, and on the left by General Giron. General Alten, with the light division, was equally successful against La Petite Rhune. The whole then united, and formed a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Generals

Colville's and Le Cor's divisions carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division, at the same time, advanced from La Petite Rhune to attack the works in their front. In this duty they met with some difficulties, which were quickly overcome by a spirited advance of the 52d, headed by Colonel Colborne. This point could only be attacked in front, over a low neck of land, exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries. This neck the regiment crossed by a very rapid movement; and, when they had passed the defile, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy did not wait the shock, but retired with great expedition.

General Hill attacked, in divisions, the heights of Ainhoe: General Clinton's division leading, and marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were quickly driven back with loss; and, General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy could not withstand this combined force, and hastily retired. The picquets in front of Ainhoe were driven in by General Pringle's brigade of General Stewart's division, while General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and a redoubt farther to the left.

Every movement was thus completely successful, and firmly established the allies on the right bank of the Nivelle. Farther efforts, however, were still necessary, as the troops driven from the enemy's centre were concentrating above the heights of Saint Pé. But Generals Colville's and Le Cor's divisions, improving the advantages already acquired, crossed the river below the village, dislodged the enemy from the heights, and established themselves on the position beyond them. The day was, however, too far advanced to make any farther movements; and the enemy, taking advantage of the night, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St Jean de Luz, and retired upon Bidart,

destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. These measures of the allies were to have been followed up next morning; but the excessive rains, and the destruction of the bridges, rendering a rapid progress impossible, the enemy gained the entrenched camp at Bayonne, leaving in the hands of the victors 51 pieces of artillery and 1500 prisoners, with a proportional number of killed and wounded. And thus was concluded a second and successful series of complicated movements, in opposition to so masterly and experienced a tactician as Marshal Soult, stationed on ground certainly much inferior in natural strength to the stupendous and intricate passes and mountains of the Pyrenees, but still possessing many natural advantages, chosen by himself, and carefully strengthened and fortified by his army, during a space of more than three months.

Looking to the number of troops engaged, and the length of the contest, the strength and extent of the enemy's position, the judgment with which it had been taken up, and the labour and expence with which it had been fortified,—the moderate loss * of the assailants may in some measure be accounted for by the diminished spirit of the French, and by the increased ardour of the allies, who saw themselves victorious in every rencounter, and whose confidence in their Commander afforded every hope of a continuance of the same victorious career.

The enemy, having been thus driven from all his posts on the Nivelle in a manner so honourable to his opponents, placed his army within an entrenched camp, close to Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and occupied in preparations to dislodge Marshal Soult from his new position. Incessant rains, from the middle till the end of November, put a total stop, during their continuance, to all active movements. On the beginning of December Lord Wellington directed

* The loss will be seen in the Appendix.

bridges to be constructed over the Nive, and on the 8th commenced his operations for the passage of that river, with a view to make a movement to the right, and thereby to threaten the enemy's rear, for the purpose of inducing his antagonist to abandon his present position, which was deemed too strong for any direct attack. These movements led to a series of desperate contests, the result of which fully realized the views of the Commander of the allies. On the 9th the army moved forward. General Hope met with small opposition, and General Hill encountered as little in crossing the Nive by the ford of Cambo. The enemy retired in great haste to avoid being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, and assembled in considerable force at Ville Franche, but were driven from thence by the light infantry and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. On the following day Sir Rowland Hill's division was established, with his left on this position, and his right on the Adour. The communication between Bayonne and St Jean Pied de Port being thus cut off, the troops at the latter place were compelled to fall back on St Palais. On the morning of the 10th, Soult, leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, quitted his entrenched camp, made a furious attack on the light division of Sir John Hope's wing, and succeeded in forcing back the outposts. The enemy established themselves on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-General Andrew Hay's fifth division; and, turning upon the latter with a vigour that required no common firmness to resist, they were, after a severe struggle, repulsed by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the fifth division and Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. All the troops engaged particularly distinguished themselves. The 9th regiment, under Colonel Cameron, already so often and so honourably mentioned, had now another opportunity of showing how well they could use the bayonet, and what a powerful arm it was in their hands.

Undismayed by these repulses, the enemy renewed the

attack about three o'clock, but were again unsuccessful. Thus passed the day, and in the course of the night Soult made dispositions to attack the light division at Arcangues. But Sir John Hope, perceiving his intention, and ready to meet every change of position, moved towards the threatened point. His opponent, equally on the alert, again changed his dispositions to the left, and here also he was as quickly met by General Hope. In this manner passed the first part of the night between two masters of their profession, each watching, with intense anxiety, the movements of the other, and possessing that acute discernment necessary to avail himself of any mistake committed by his opponent.

The following day passed in partial skirmishing with the outposts, and on the 12th the enemy renewed the attack on the left, but with equally bad success. During the night of the 12th, however, he determined on an entire change in the plan of his operations, drew his army through Bayonne, and, on the morning of the 13th, made a powerful effort, with 30,000 men, to pierce through between the centre and right of the British position. Advancing with equal vigour and celerity, he would probably have succeeded in the attempt, had not General Hill, with that prompt decision of which we have seen so many instances, ordered the troops on the flanks to support the centre. This opportune aid arrived at the moment when, without such assistance, this immense body would have forced through. The enemy were now repulsed with great loss, and retreated with such expedition, that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill. The weight of this attack was sustained by General Barnes's brigade and the Portuguese brigade of General Ashworth, stationed on the road to St Jean Pied de Port. The result fully evinced the spirit with which the attack had been repelled. *

* The 79th distinguished themselves here: the number killed by their fire on this occasion, in a small space, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the war.

During this affair General Byng's, supported by General Buchan's Portuguese brigade, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several ineffectual attempts to dislodge them; but, being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments. General Hill's division followed, and took up a parallel position.

The winter had now set in with unusual inclemency, and a succession of violent rains had so swelled all the rivers, and destroyed the roads, that ulterior movements were for a short time impracticable. This interruption of active warfare allowed Marshal Soult time to strengthen his position in front of Bayonne. About the middle of February 1814, the weather becoming more favourable, Lord Wellington lost no time in commencing a series of movements calculated to force Soult to draw his troops from their strong position, or allow the allies free entrance into the heart of France, and thereby cut off his communication with that country. The first operation was to drive back the French from the vicinity of St Palais. After a series of movements, Lord Wellington succeeded in getting the command of the Adour, down which the enemy received their supplies from the interior. Being deprived of this resource, Soult was obliged to withdraw from Bayonne; and, leaving a strong garrison for its defence, he marched with the main body in the direction of Daxe.

Sir John Hope was left to blockade Bayonne; and, on the 24th of February, the right and centre of the army made a general movement, the former crossing the Gave d' Oleron at the post of Villeneuve, and the latter between Montford and Laas, all without opposition, and marched forward on the 25th to dislodge the enemy from a position on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the two extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. In this strong post Soult was supported by the town and the river on the left;

his right rested on a commanding height in rear of the village of St Bois; while the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the chain of heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle, protected, as has been already stated, by the strong position of both wings.

Against this advantageous post the dispositions were quickly made. Marshal Beresford, with Generals Cole's and Walker's divisions, and with Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry, was ordered to attack and attempt to turn the right; Generals Picton and Clinton, with General Cotton's and Lord Edward Somerset's brigades of cavalry, were directed to attack the heights on the left and centre; General Alten, with the light division in reserve in rear of the two columns of attack, was to be ready to support either; while General Hill was to cross the Gave, two miles above Orthés, and to attack the left flank and rear of the position. Marshal Beresford attacked and carried the village of St Bois, after an obstinate resistance. General Cole then advanced against the heights above the village; but two flanking ravines narrowing the approach, only two battalions could be brought forward in line to oppose the weight of the whole force on the heights, the troops being flanked also by a body of the enemy in the ravines, and the guns on the heights. Notwithstanding the firmness displayed by the troops, it was found necessary to relinquish the advance by this direction. A new plan was instantly adopted, and a joint attack, consisting of the troops of the reserve and those of the right, was made upon the enemy's left, in the expectation of turning them in that flank. This attack was led by the 52d, under Colonel Colborne, supported on the right by Brigadier-General Brisbane and Colonel Keane's brigade, and, at the same moment, by Major-General Anson on the left; while on the right of the whole, General Picton, with a part of his own division and of General Clinton's, rushed forward almost at the same time. This shock was irresistible: every point was carried; the enemy, however, retreating in a masterly manner, firing

by echelons of divisions, each covering the other as they retreated, till General Hill, who had by this time crossed the river, advanced upon their left flank on the road from Orthés to St Sever. The French now became apprehensive of being entirely intercepted, and this hitherto well ordered retreat was immediately converted into a total rout, their troops hastening away at a running pace, followed by their pursuers with the same speed. In this manner the latter kept up to their rear at a full trot for nearly three miles, till at length the French breaking, and throwing away their arms, spread themselves all over the country. Still, however, they were pursued to Sault de Navailles, when there no longer remained even the appearance of an army, every ditch, hedge, or obstacle that could impede their flight, being strewed with the dead and the wounded.

If the nature of the country would have allowed the cavalry to act early in the retreat, the greater part of the enemy must have been destroyed; or, if they had attempted to form and resist the cavalry, the delay occasioned by such a determination would have enabled General Hill, the head of whose division was nearly parallel with their rear division, to get so far in advance as, by a quick movement to his left, to take them in flank, and thus, by checking their farther retreat, force them to surrender. As it was, their loss was estimated at 8000 killed, wounded, and taken. *

After this signal victory, the French General had to encounter a new and formidable enemy in the disaffection of a part of his troops. French soldiers now, for the first time, abandoned their standards; numbers of them went over to the allies, and others fled to their different homes. But no defeat, desertion, or disaster, seemed to affect Soult, who continued to exert his great abilities with a spirit and energy undismayed and undiminished. He grasped at every opportunity of opposing the victorious and irresistible progress of his opponent. Of this determination he exhibited

* See Appendix for British loss.

an early instance, and, on the 2d of March, made a stand to cover the removal of considerable magazines which had been established at Aire. He posted his men on a strong ridge of low hills, extending across the road, in front of that town, having their right on the Adour. In this position they were attacked by General Hill's corps. Sir William Stewart's division attacked the right, and General La Costa's Portuguese division the left. Both succeeded in gaining possession of the ridge; but the Portuguese were so shaken by the resistance they met with, that, in the confusion, they could not be re-formed before the enemy had rallied, and were returning upon them in great force. At this moment General Stewart, who had completed his share of the duty, detached to their assistance General Barnes, with the 50th, 71st, and Gordon Highlanders. With the gallantry which had so often distinguished these corps under the same leader, they instantly drove the enemy from the heights. Several desperate attempts were made to retrieve what had been lost. In these they were repulsed at every point; and being at last drawn from the town, took the rout to Pau. Numbers threw away their arms, and fled with the utmost speed. The magazines, of course, fell into the hands of the British.

This affair afforded additional evidence of the confidence which had been acquired, and which was increased by every successive action. No enterprise during the war had contributed more to depress the spirits of the enemy than the storming of San Sebastian. In all the general actions, however disastrous the result, they had always reserved some consolatory pretext to evade the acknowledgment of defeat or inferiority. The General must have committed some mistake, or miscalculated his manœuvres; the position was not good, or the troops were not judiciously stationed; some divisions advanced too soon, others were too late; their antagonists were numerous beyond all proportion, or some accidental circumstance had given them an unexpected advantage which surprised even the victors themselves, and which

would have certainly ended in their defeat, had it not been for one or other of such causes as have been enumerated. Thus ingeniously did these sanguine and brave troops labour to find out reasons to cover and to conceal, even from themselves, the real cause of their numerous compulsory retreats. But, in such a place as San Sebastian, there could be no manœuvring General to commit mistakes; and the defences were so strong, and had been so little impaired, that, even with small resistance on the part of the besieged, a body of assailants would have required a considerable time to force an entrance. In a fortress possessing an accumulation of every means of defence that could be well brought forward, with a brave and numerous garrison, the being compelled to surrender was an indication of undaunted resolution, and superior physical power, on the part of the assailants, which no sophistry could explain away. The loss was indeed great; but it will be supplied and forgotten, while the impression made by this irresistible attack will endure for ages, and have its influence in establishing the character, and proving the capability of British soldiers. With such qualifications for the most arduous of military enterprises, the assault of a place of strength, we find that, in the field, under their great commander, and opposed to the most celebrated of the numerous and able generals of the enemy, the French were driven from position to position with great celerity, and with a comparatively small loss to the victors. Out-flanked, checked, and turned, in a country remarkable for the strength of its military positions, they found that these defeats, so often repeated, were not effected by superiority of numbers, but by the admirable execution of a combined series of movements, conceived and planned with an acuteness, a decision, and a vigour of intellect, that, with brave troops to execute them, made success a matter of certainty.

Much rain having lately fallen, the rivers overflowed their banks, and laid a considerable portion of the country under water, and the French, having destroyed the bridges, the advance of the army was unavoidably delayed. By Soult's re-

treat on Tarbes, all the western part of Gascony had been left open to the operations of Lord Wellington; who, therefore, detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bourdeaux, of which city they took possession not only without opposition, but amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants; a circumstance very uncommon on the entrance of a victorious army into an enemy's city: but the truth seems to be, that the pressure of Napoleon's despotism had become utterly intolerable, and the sufferers naturally hailed the first dawnings of emancipation, come from what quarter they might. Besides, in Bourdeaux and the province of Gascony, there were a great number of individuals of property and influence, sincerely attached to the cause of the Bourbons.

Marshal Beresford, after leaving Lord Dalhousie with 4000 men at Bourdeaux, was recalled, and Lord Wellington, having received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, and regimental detachments of men from England, and of men who had recovered from the hospitals, immediately put the army in motion. The right column advanced on Vicq Bigorre, by Lembege, and the centre through Manbourget. At Vicq the enemy, with two divisions, attempted to make a stand, but were soon dislodged by General Picton, with the third division, and driven beyond Tarbes, where Soult concentrated his whole force, with a seeming intention of disputing the farther progress of the allies; placing his left at Tarbes, and extending his right towards Rabastens. On the 20th Generals Hill and Picton moved forward on the enemy's front at Tarbes, while General Clinton, with the 6th division, crossed the Adour to turn his right at Rabastens, General Alten's light division being destined to attack the heights above Orleix. These combined movements succeeded in the most perfect manner. But no sooner had the British driven the enemy from the heights which they occupied, than a second line was seen drawn up on two hills running parallel to those in front. This commanding position being reinforced by the troops driven from that in

advance, it was found to be too formidable to be attacked in front, without a great sacrifice of men, and before the necessary movements for taking it in flank could be completed, the night closed in, and Soult, unwilling to risk another engagement, took advantage of the darkness, and moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was, next morning, followed by the allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the 27th of March.

The contending armies were now separated by a great river, recently swollen by heavy rains, and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. The only bridge being in possesion of the enemy at Toulouse, it was a matter of some difficulty, and caused some loss of time, before pontoons of size and strength sufficient for the crossing of the army could be procured. But every hour's delay increased the difficulty of the ultimate enterprise, as the French were busily occupied in fortifying a formidable position close to Toulouse, and as Soult, driven so far back towards the centre of France, had approached nearer the source of his supplies, while the allies, on the other hand, had receded to a proportional distance from theirs. But matters were now coming to a crisis. In this formidable and imposing position, Soult might flatter himself with a successful operation, if not the total defeat of his hitherto victorious opponent, and that, should the closing scene of such a course of important events end in victory, it would erase from men's memories all traces of the numerous defeats which he had already sustained. Hence, a battle gained at Toulouse would be a conclusion of the war, glorious for the arms of France. Acting on such views, the Marshal, (or, as the French soldiers familiarly called him, *Le vieux Renard,)* strained every nerve to put himself in the best possible state of defence. It was indeed asserted at the time, and is still generally believed, that he knew of the events in the north, and the abdication of Buonaparte; and, therefore, his motive in concealing this information, and his determination once more to encounter his formidable antagonist under the walls

of Toulouse, must have arisen from some ultimate view of a signal triumph, as a set-off against all previous disappointments and defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers; is surrounded on three sides by the great Canal of Languedoc, and by the Garonne; and is on the fourth side flanked by a range of hills close to the canals, over which pass all the roads on that side the town. On the summit of the nearest of these heights the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, and formed entrenchments and lines of connection with the defences of the town, consisting of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the elevated ground, and along one-half its length, from the most distant extremity, ran the small river Ers, all the bridges of which had been destroyed. On the summit of the height was an elevated and elongated plain, in a state of cultivation, and having a farm-house, with its usual accompaniments, towards the end next the town. Around this house some trenches had been cut, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. The ascent to the summit was easy; but the ground having been recently sown and harrowed, formed an excellent glacis, which, from its breadth and smooth surface, gave a full range to the shot from the redoubts as it swept along when the troops marched up to the attack. Three roads, sunk deep into the earth by long use, and having very high banks on each side, traversed the summit. On this field Soult resolved to stand his last battle; and, from the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Part of the army crossed the Garonne on the 4th; but, owing to a few hot days, the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees swelled the river so much, that it was necessary to remove the pontoons; and accordingly it was the 8th before they could be replaced, and more troops could cross over. Soult was too much occupied with his defences to at-

tack the part of the army which had crossed: and, besides, he now began to feel the want of numbers; a misfortune well known to the English in many enterprises, but seldom experienced by the French in the course of their late wars.

On the 8th the falling of the river allowed the whole army to cross, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town, in front of the great bridge, to keep the enemy within their works on that side. On the 10th of April 1814, all was ready for the last struggle. The Spaniards, under Don Manuel Freyre, were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Picton, and the light division, to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton's sixth division, to attack the centre of the entrenchments; while General Cole, with the fourth, marched against the right. The divisions having to march along the valley, it required some time to get into the order of attack. When ready, they marched in a parallel direction to the heights on their right, from which they were exposed to a smart cannonade till they came opposite to their respective points of attack, when they immediately changed their front to the right, and marched up the heights. General Pack's brigade, of the 42d, 79th, and 91st, supported by General Lambert's brigade, of the 36th, 37th, and 61st regiments, attacked and carried the lines and a redoubt on the right, and established themselves on the summit, the enemy retreating to the redoubt at the farm-house.

The commencement of the attack on the right was the signal for Don Manuel Freyre to advance with a Spanish division, which marched up with great spirit, exposed to a very severe cannonade, which disordered them considerably. Some rushing forward, while others moved more slowly, they were soon so much broken and disordered as to be unable to cross one of the deep indented roads which passed within one hundred yards of the lower redoubt. The enemy, perceiving this check, rushed out of their entrench-

ments, and drove them down the hill, and from behind a bank under which they had taken shelter. But the light division advancing to their support, they again rallied on the plain at the bottom, in front of General Picton, who pushed forward the 45th regiment and part of his division, with an intention of crossing the canal; but, on reaching the work that defended the bridge, it was found that the canal was so wide and deep, that to cross it was impracticable; and, being now exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry, which they could not return, they were forced to retire. In this attack Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes of the 45th, a valuable officer, was killed.

There was now a general cessation in all the points of attack, till the Spaniards were rallied and brought forward again. This was done by Lord Wellington in person. Marshal Beresford's artillery, which he had left at Montblanc, was now brought up to cannonade the heights. When all was again ready, the attack recommenced. The Spaniards made several attempts, but were unable to succeed. General Pack's brigade advanced on the summit of the heights to the attack of the works at the farm-houses and of the two centre redoubts, and marched forward several hundred yards, over a ploughed field, exposed to the whole fire of the lines, redoubts, and entrenchments, without returning a shot, and with a steadiness that surprised the enemy. "My God! how firm these sans culottes are!" exclaimed a French officer who saw the approach, (distinguishing the Highlanders by their dress.) When they reached the redoubts, they leaped into the trenches, and carried them with the bayonet. Three of the redoubts, and two-thirds of the lines which defended the heights, were in possession of the British.

The 42d occupied two redoubts on the left, the 79th that on the right, and the 91st were stationed in rear of the farm-house. The outward redoubt on the left was on the edge of the declivity towards the plain at the bottom of the hill. One of the deep roads already mentioned ran close

to this redoubt, and, by some oversight, had not been properly occupied, the men being stationed in the inner entrenchment. With an intention of regaining, if possible, these positions, the enemy, availing themselves of this kind of covered way, marched up a column of great force, and with such cautious silence, that the head of the column had nearly passed the unoccupied redoubt before they were perceived. Having reached the proper point, they instantly made a desperate rush forward, in such numbers, that they nearly overpowered the 42d, who were forced to retire to the farm-house. Here they were promptly supported by the 91st, and the enemy were again driven down the hill with heavy loss. The Highlanders also suffered very severely. * The enemy had scarce reached the plain below

* A highly distinguished officer, whose judgment and professional talents have been proved by the uniform success which attended his enterprises, exemplified on this occasion how an eye, originally correct, may be improved by practice. The troops under his command had not crossed the Garonne, and were stationed beyond Toulouse, at the distance of more than two miles from the field of action, but in full view of the whole. I had gone to France at this period; and, talking over the battle of Toulouse with this officer, a few days after it happened, he observed, in allusion to the attempt of the enemy to retake the redoubt, "I saw your countrymen in a most perilous situation; and had I not known their firmness, I should have trembled for the result. As it was, they could not have resisted the force brought against them if they had not been so instantaneously supported." I asked him, what was the amount at which he calculated the strength of the enemy's column of attack. He replied, "Not less than 6000 men."

I was soon afterwards travelling through Languedoc, and, in a field close to the road in the neighbourhood of Carcasson, I saw a brigade of French infantry exercising. Stepping out of the carriage, I walked into the field to view the troops; and, being in uniform, I was observed by the general officer commanding. He immediately rode up, and, after the usual salutations, invited me, with great politeness, to look at his brigade; and, opening the ranks, we walked through each rank together. In the course of conversation, the recent battles were noticed; and, after discussing various points, "Well," said the French general, "we are quite satisfied, if the English army think we fought bravely, and did our duty well." The Highland corps were mentioned. "Ah!" said he, "these are brave soldiers. If they had good of-

when a fresh body advanced to retake the redoubts, which were now fully occupied; the 42d in the outward, the 79th in the centre redoubt, and the 91st in the farm-yard. This was a most desperate attack; and the enemy, as if sensible that this was the last effort of that bravery and impetuosity which had made the French armies so often irresistible, persevered with a gallantry that would have secured success had their opponents been less resolute and firm.

This firmness prevailed, and the enemy were soon forced to give up the attempt; their retreat being perhaps hastened by the advance of the other brigades of General Clinton's division on their right, and by the movement of the Spaniards, who were now well advanced on their left. The whole retired, leaving the heights in full possession of the allies, who now overlooked the venerable city of Toulouse, within full reach of their guns.

But Lord Wellington was spared the cruel necessity of bombarding the town, which contained many loyal and sincere friends, who must unavoidably have suffered in the general confusion; and Marshal Soult, conscious that the city was not defensible, evacuated it the same evening, under the guns of the British army, but undisturbed by his opponent, who wished to avoid all hostilities against the inhabitants, who must have suffered had a cannonade been opened on the retreating enemy. And, indeed, the French army had no other alternative; for the Garonne, the canal,

ficers, I should not like to meet them unless I was well supported. I put them to the proof on that day." I asked him, in what manner? He answered, that he led the division which attempted to retake the redoubt; and, on a farther question as to the strength of that division, "More than 5000 men," was the answer. Here we see that the English general, at the distance of more than two miles, calculated the number at not much less than 6000 men, and the French general who commanded it at more than 5000. The closeness of the estimate shows great accuracy of eye, and judgment of numbers at a distance,—a talent of the last importance to a military commander, and which must contribute in a very eminent degree to secure success in a complicated and extended campaign.

and the heights, which had formed their principal defences, were now turned to a different purpose, and assisted the views of the allies, who had only one side to guard against the entrance of supplies, and that entrance commanded by their guns. If Soult had not evacuated the town, he must soon have surrendered for want of provisions necessary for the support of a population of 60,000 inhabitants, and of his own army of 36,000 men. To this number it was now reduced by the casualties of war and the recent numerous desertions. And thus, as a wary and experienced fox, (to use a familiar illustration,) who, after a long and intricate chace, and in spite of his numberless doublings and manœuvres, is at length earthed under some bank,—so the Field-Marshal of France was now cooped up within the small circle of a city, the capital of the second province of France, into which an army which had conquered two kingdoms had been driven for shelter, after a series of retrograde movements and manœuvres from Seville to Toulouse. In the course of these operations the army of Great Britain and her allies had liberated and given independence to two kingdoms, and had fought eight pitched battles against the bravest soldiers and the ablest and most experienced generals of France, who had been foiled by the British general in their boasted tactics, and out-manœuvred, out-marched, out-flanked, and overturned. That army had also been successful in many arduous sieges and assaults, and had at length established themselves in the two principal cities of the south of France. Such are a few of the glorious results of these campaigns: Quatre Bras and Waterloo completed a series of victories the more honourable, as they were gained over an enemy remarkable for transcendent military talents and genius.

On the following morning the army made a kind of triumphal entrance into the town, and were received by the inhabitants with an enthusiasm more like that which they might have been expected to show to their deliverers than to conquerors. In the course of the same day, official accounts, which it is said had been kept back on the road,

were received of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII.

In this manner ended the last battle in that series of difficult operations which contributed so materially to the fortunate conclusion of twenty-one years' warfare. As the principal aim of my present undertaking is to show the importance to the state of preserving a warlike, moral, and hardy population, and likewise how far the natives of the north of Scotland possessed these qualifications,—and to point out the influence exerted by the recent statistical changes and improvements, as they are called, on their moral and military character,—as well as to prove how easily battles may be gained by brave soldiers, in as far as regards actual loss from an enemy,—I may now be permitted to draw a comparison between the amount of the loss of useful subjects to the state sustained in a cause where its honour, and even very existence as an independent nation, were concerned, and that drain on the population by extensive and compulsory emigrations, such as have taken place in the north, and which have removed from this country as many valuable members of society as were killed by the enemy in the whole of the Peninsular campaigns; and this in a much shorter period than the duration of these apparently destructive and deadly operations. It will be seen, that, from the first shot fired under General Sir Arthur Wellesley at Brilos, after the landing in Portugal in 1808, till the last battle under the Marquis of Wellington at Toulouse, in 1814, the number killed was 7 general officers, 45 field officers, 142 captains, 263 subalterns, 41 staff officers, 391 serjeants, 33 drummers, and 7449 soldiers. * Of these 1064 were of the German Legion and other foreign corps in the pay of Great Britain, leaving the loss sustained by the United Kingdom 6385 soldiers killed in battle.

Adverting also to the loss sustained at Waterloo, which may be said to have decided the fate of nations, we find that the

* See Appendix.

number of soldiers in British pay killed amounted to 1536; and, deducting 311 for the German Legion, there remains of the killed of British soldiers at Waterloo 1225 men. When it is remembered that, by the operations of one or two individuals, more Highlanders have been forced to abandon their native country, many of these enlisting themselves under the protection of a foreign state, and being therefore for ever lost to their country, the blood spilt in battle to maintain its honour and independence, if not its existence, may be matter of less regret, in so far as regards the loss of subjects, which, in the instances above alluded to, is considered of so little importance, that, instead of reprobation, some of those who have occasioned this unparalleled drain of valuable members of society, call for applause as promoters of patriotic measures, and as improvers of their country.

## SECTION XXII.

*Return of Buonaparte from Elba—Highland regiments embark for Flanders—General remarks—Advance of the French—Battle of Quatre Bras—Battle of Waterloo—Total rout and dispersion of the French—Observations on the former, as contrasted with the present, state of the 42d regiment—Means of preserving the corps efficient—Return from France—Reception in England—in Scotland—in Edinburgh.*

THE objects of twenty-one years' warfare being now in a great measure accomplished, the troops were removed, without delay, to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments ordered for Ireland, where they remained till the return of Buonaparte from Elba, when they embarked for Flanders, and reached Brussels in the end of May, or early in June, 1815.

In my attempts to give some account of the share which several Highland corps have borne in different actions, I have been necessarily led, whenever my information enabled me, to give a more extended detail of events that occurred at a considerable distance of time than of those of a more recent date, both because the recollection of the former is obviously less distinct, and because they afford more frequent illustrations of the general principles and character of the natives of the Highlands in what may be called their primitive state. All, doubtless, have heard of Fontenoy, Ticonderoga, and the Heights of Abraham, but all may not have a recollection of the more minute circumstances by which they were characterized. Not so with respect to the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, of which so much has already been said and written, and that so recently, that every part is fresh in the memory of all. I shall, therefore, not attempt what has already been so often and so well performed. At

Quatre Bras, as at Alexandria, the 42d had an opportunity of showing what share they possessed of that unyielding firmness which had so long distinguished their predecessors.—It is said that the soldiers of some European nations take such a comprehensive view of the scenes in which they are engaged, and are so quick-sighted in perceiving any movement of the enemy which may compromise their safety, that, assuming the functions of the general, they not only think and calculate on these movements, but act upon them. Hence, when they see an enemy on their flank, in their rear, or in any place except in their front, they are apt to give way, and to suppose that the day is lost. But be that as it may, such is not the case with the British soldier, who is not apt to see cause for retiring till he is overpowered by superior physical force. At Quatre Bras, the enemy, especially at the commencement of the action, were so much more numerous than the British, and advanced from so many different points at once, that the regiments were obliged to fight independently, and at such a distance, that the one could not support the other, each being compelled to stand or fall by itself. This was a noble opportunity, and it was not lost. It is well known how well each regiment upheld the honour of their country, when opposed to a numerous, brave, and veteran enemy, who fought for victory or death, who had the honour, empire, and life of their master at stake, and who, should they lose this first turn of the game, would lay a foundation for the final and overwhelming stroke.

The 42d was drawn up in a field of wheat nearly breast high. In this situation they experienced that perplexity which must sometimes occur in armies composed of the troops of different nations, and even in an army of the same nation, as our own, where our uniforms, once so distinguished by their showy and striking colours, are becoming so similar to those of foreign troops, that, if continued, it will be difficult, at any distance, to discover friend from foe, British from foreign troops. In this instance a body of French cavalry were mistaken for Prussians or Belgians. The mis-

take was not discovered till too late to receive the squadrons of the enemy in proper formation. The men threw themselves into a kind of square, which was not nearly completed when the enemy advanced in full charge, and with greater impetuosity, when they saw the imperfect state for resistance of the body which they were advancing to attack. But, however imperfect the condition in which they were to receive the enemy, it was sufficient for the purpose. They were repulsed, and forced back at every point; but still they persevered, and renewed their attempts to break in upon the troops, with a degree of confidence increased by the expectation of a comparatively easy victory over men who appeared so incapable to stand their ground. * But these brave men were not possessed of such clear notions of their own danger, as to give way when they saw it approach. They stood back to back, every man fighting on his ground till he fell, or forced his enemy to retreat. At length, when the enemy's ardour was somewhat cooled, probably by disappointment at the little impression which they had made; and when they had relaxed in the frequency and fierceness of their attacks, the regiment completed the formation which was at first so imperfect. After the failure of these repeated attacks, the enemy did not again advance in great force. They contented themselves with pushing forward small

* The enemy could not comprehend this. In the case of men taken off their guard, and nearly surprised, rushing up into a hurried formation, and rapidly grouped in support of each other, their assailants expected an easy victory: Their officers frequently called out, "Why don't you surrender? down with your arms, you see you are beaten."

Speaking of this affair after the battle, some of the prisoners expressed their surprise: "Your people must be very ignorant; they knew not when to surrender, although conquered. We beat them, yet they stood." It is to be hoped that our soldiers will long continue in this state of ignorance, in case that, if formed according to the highly finished state of education, where every soldier is an officer, and every officer a general, they may lose more of the best and most useful qualifications of a brave soldier, than they can gain of the general knowledge of those parts of their profession which belong to others.

parties, who kept up a galling fire, but produced no serious impression, till at length, despairing of success, they retired, leaving the British in possession of the field of battle.

Considering the situation of the 42d, and the force with which they were attacked, the loss was moderate, being only 3 officers and 40 soldiers killed. The wounded were numerous in proportion, which must have been occasioned by the distant and independent skirmishing. The wounds, or at least many of them, were slight, as few died, and a small number only of those wounded on this occasion are now on the Chelsea pension as disabled. Indeed, the loss of the army that day was moderate; for a greatly superior and brave enemy, calculated at 40,000 men, had been repulsed at all points, with a loss to the British of 27 officers, 17 serjeants, and 269 rank and file, killed, and to the Hanoverians of 2 officers, 2 serjeants, and 29 rank and file.

The Duke of Wellington, in his letter, detailing the operations at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, pays a high compliment to four British regiments, and a battalion of Hanoverians, these being the only corps he notices by name. "I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians." This is a mark of approbation never to be forgotten by these regiments; a testimony to their merits, given on an important occasion, and by so perfect a judge, who never conferred praise without ample and sufficient reason.

The Royal Highland regiment lost five men killed at the battle of Waterloo, the last of a long series of engagements, in which they had borne a conspicuous share since they first faced an enemy at Fontenoy in May 1745. On every occasion, when they fired a shot at an enemy they were successful, (except at Ticonderoga, where success was next to impossible,) successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were prevented from closing upon

them, by insurmountable obstacles. But, even at Fontenoy, though the army was defeated, this regiment carried the particular points ordered for them, and, on the two occasions of Fontenoy and Ticonderoga, they were the last in the field.

Having now brought the military service of the regiment to a conclusion, I subjoin a list of the killed and wounded from the year 1740 to 1815. The number amounts to 34 officers, and 778 soldiers, killed in battle * in the course of seventy-five years' service, of which forty-five were a period of active warfare. This list is intended to show, in one view, the number of men killed and wounded in the different wars. In that from 1793 to the peace of 1814, there were 235 men killed, and at Quatre Bras and Waterloo 45, making the total number of soldiers killed in battle 280 in the twenty-two years' war, and in the same period, commencing in 1793, and ending in 1815, there died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, (as appears by returns in the Adjutant-General's office,) 1135: † 1489 soldiers were discharged. ‡ Thus the total number of those who have been killed, or have died in this regiment, in the course of twenty-two years of active, and what has been called sanguinary warfare, in every variety of climate, has

* See Appendix.

† The deaths by sickness in the 2d battalion are not included. The loss by the enemy in this battalion is so trifling, as not to be worth notice.

‡ Of men discharged at different periods 563 are now alive receiving pensions from Chelsea. Great numbers were discharged at the conclusion of the different wars, without pensions, as they had served but a short time, and were not disabled. John Stewart, now living in Perth, and several other men still receiving pensions, were wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758, Martinique in 1759, Guadaloupe in 1762, and at Bushy Run in 1763. Captain Peebles, wounded at Bushy Run, and residing in Irvine, and Major John Grant late, of the Invalids, are the only officers alive who served in the regiment during the Seven Years' War.

been 1415, while it has been frequently stated that 13,800 men were destroyed in this corps in the first fifteen years of the war. These statements are credited too generally in the north, to the great detriment of recruiting, for, as I will have occasion to mention afterwards, however brave a young man may be, he will be less inclined to enter the service, when he is told that it has proved so destructive; and, even in the case of spirited young men, to whom such tales would be no check, their families and female friends discourage them, and endeavour to prevent their encountering such imminent hazards.

From the year 1740 to 1815, two officers * were brought to Courts Martial. Few rose to great professional eminence, at the same time that many were highly respectable. I have already noticed, that Lord John Murray exerted himself to procure respectable officers, and while his success in this respect was acknowledged, various reasons have been assigned for the supposed deficiency of eminence in so numerous a body. In a country that has produced good soldiers, it may be presumed that among the same people good commanders may be found, unless their talents are kept under by some powerful cause. Good officers are certainly more rare than good soldiers; but, as the proportion among the Highland military is certainly in favour of the latter, the real cause may be, that the officers were, in general, without fortune, the great mass being the younger sons of gentlemen, or the sons of gentlemen-tacksmen, and who, consequently, had not the means to push forward by pur-

* Major George Grant, for the loss of old Fort George, near Inverness, taken by the rebels in September 1745. This was one of the many instances of the terror which the Highlanders, at that period, inspired. When they appeared before the fort, and were preparing to assault it sword in hand, the soldiers could not be kept to their guns, and the commander was obliged to surrender the garrison. For this he was tried and broke; but he had none of his own regiment in garrison with him. They were then in Flanders. The other officer was Lieutenant Sutherland, tried for neglect of duty in 1779, and reprimanded.

chasing promotion early in life; so that such of them as persevered were frequently too old, or too much worn out by previous service before they rose to any rank. Hence, with minds active and entire, they were obliged, by decay of constitution, to retire at the time when they were likely to attain the rank where talent could be shown to advantage. I knew two officers who served thirty years in the earlier duties of the regiment, and who, so far as an opinion could be formed, without positive proof, were fit to command armies. But they had attained no command beyond that of a company, when bad health forced them to retire. The celebrated Principal Robertson, for instance, was nearly twenty years a settled clergyman before he was known, and sat ten years in the General Assembly ere his voice was heard in that venerable court. The late Lords Kenyon and Ashburton were many years at the bar unnoticed and unknown. Had these eminent men belonged to a profession that would have exposed them to personal hardships, and prostration of health and constitution, they might have been cut off before their talents, which, at a late period in life, shone forth so conspicuously, were known or heard of. Sir Ralph Abercromby, although always known to be a man of superior strength of mind, never had an opportunity of showing his talents as a commander till past sixty years of age. Had his constitution been less vigorous, his name would never have been heard beyond the confined circle of those who knew him in private life.

In this manner, from want of money, or influence to procure early rank, or from a decay of constitution, forcing them to a premature retirement, many Highland officers have sunk in obscurity, who, under more favourable circumstances, might have risen to distinguished eminence in their profession.

The non-commissioned officers are stated to have been, at an early period, a superior class of men. I can speak from my own knowledge of individuals who had served as serjeants fifty and sixty years ago, and who, in every respect,

had merited the character given them. Non-commissioned officers have latterly had sufficient inducement to obtain and preserve a good character. Twenty-eight serjeants of the 42d were appointed officers during the seventeen years that I belonged to the regiment. Of the privates six were executed from 1740 till 1815; three for mutiny in 1743; one for desertion in America in 1783; one for murder in Gibraltar in 1797; and one for shooting his officer in 1812. Besides these, there were tried by General Courts Martial those who mutinied in 1743; a soldier for allowing a French prisoner to escape in 1745; two men for mutiny at Leith in 1779; one man for desertion in America in 1780; and one for striking an officer in 1804. In the course of seventy-nine years' service, no individual has ever been brought to a General Court Martial for theft, or any crime showing moral turpitude or depravity. After the reinforcements received in 1780, 1783, 1795, and at later periods, several petty crimes occurred requiring checks and punishments, formerly unknown; but none of such a nature as to call for any punishment beyond what the power vested in their own commanding officer could award. The time, however, is now come, when, with the prospect of a long peace, the regiment may become what it was originally, when so many of the soldiers were of a higher class in society; at least there are sufficient materials in the Highlands to supply a corps with recruits capable of exhibiting every military qualification. In the earlier service of the corps, the idea of one of their number being brought to disgraceful punishment, as in the instance after the battle of Fontenoy, occasioned a feeling of horror and shame among all, and no degrading punishments were required. If this feeling cannot be preserved, it will be a lamentable proof of the decay of that honourable sensibility to shame which formed a conspicuous feature in the character of the Highlanders. Since the beginning of the last century, a numerous class in the Highlands has always been well educated, but education is now more generally extended to all classes, and,

if religious and moral instruction accompanies their reading and writing, the principles I have noticed may be preserved; but, if these are fundamentally unsound, all the education of Oxford or Edinburgh will not make them virtuous, and honourable soldiers, disposed to prefer death to dishonour.

A man of very good talents may sink, in estimation, below his just level, merely by the circumstance of succeeding to an appointment previously filled by a man of superior genius. In the same manner, this corps has an honourable task to perform,—a task perfectly easy, if the materials be good, but arduous, perhaps impossible, if the reverse. Scotland expects that they will not tarnish the character entrusted to them. If, in the selection of recruits, only good men are taken, their principles may be easily preserved, but they may as easily be destroyed. If approbation and encouragement be a spur to honourable conduct, the 42d regiment has always had an ample share. But it has been said, that much of this proceeds from the character gained by their predecessors. That this feeling influences opinion is evident, as to this day the *Black Watch* is seldom mentioned in Scotland without an accompanying expression of respect. But, that the whole does not proceed from this we have seen by the reception met with by this regiment after the late peace, not merely in Scotland, but in England, where many towns turned out almost their whole population to welcome them. But in Edinburgh their welcome was altogether so extraordinary, and so enthusiastic, that I shall state the circumstances more minutely.

Some time after the surrender of Paris, the regiment passed over to England, and from thence marched to Scotland in the spring of 1816. It was understood that they were to march into Edinburgh Castle on the 18th of March. A crowd of idle spectators is not so easily collected in Edinburgh as in London; but on this morning it seemed as if two-thirds of the houses and workshops in the city had been emptied of their inhabitants. Several hours before the regiment arrived, the road to Musselburgh was covered

with carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians. At Portobello the crowd was great, and, on entering the Canongate, it was a solid moving mass, pressed together as if in a frame. The pipers and band could not play for want of room, and were obliged to lay up their instruments. Many of the crowd putting up their hands to take off their hats to wave them in the air, could not without difficulty get them replaced again by their sides. Spacious as is the High Street, not a foot was unoccupied, and the high fronts of the houses appeared as if alive, with three or four heads, principally ladies, in every window.

Of the soldiers nothing were seen except their bonnets and feathers; the firelocks they were obliged to carry close to their bodies. In this state the forward movement was necessarily slow, and great apprehension was felt in case any person should fall, and be crushed under the feet of the multitude, as it would be impossible to raise them. An hour and a quarter was occupied in the march from the Palace of Holyrood to the Castle gates, when the soldiers found considerable difficulty in disengaging themselves from the crowds which pressed round them. *

Each soldier was presented with a night's free admission to the Theatre, and a public dinner was given to them in

* The following is an extract from the account published at the time:

"Tuesday the first division of the 42d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. Dick, marched into the Castle. Major-General Hope, commander of the district, and Colonel David Stewart of Garth, accompanied the Lieutenant-Colonel at the head of the regiment. Not only the streets of the city were crowded beyond all former precedent with spectators, but the windows, and even the house-tops, were occupied. The road from Musselburgh, a distance of six miles, was filled with relations and friends; and so great was the crowd, that it was after four o'clock before they arrived at the Castle Hill, although they passed through Portobello about two o'clock. It was almost impossible for these gallant men to get through the people, particularly in the city. All the bells were rung, and they were everywhere received with the loudest acclamations."

George Street Assembly Rooms; Sir Walter Scott, and several of the most eminent men in Edinburgh, superintending the entertainment.

If the approbation of their country be gratifying to the minds of good men, no stronger incitement to honourable actions need be required than the assurance of receiving it when merited.

## LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS.

### 1745.

The recent loss of the battle of Fontenoy called for renewed exertions on the part of the British Government. The distinction which Lord John Murray's Highlanders had obtained in that action, their eminent services, "which were heard over all Britain," and the general good conduct of the soldiers, were now so fully acknowledged, that many national jealousies, formerly entertained with regard to the character of Highlanders, began to be considered as ill-founded and unjust. With a view, therefore, of adding more men of this description to the military force of the country, Government granted authority to the Earl of Loudon to raise a regiment in the Highlands, under the patronage of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connections were to be appointed officers. By their influence, and by the confidence which the people placed in their chiefs and landlords, it was expected that the young men would readily enlist in a corps in which all were to be of the same country, to speak the same language, to wear the same garb, and to possess the same habits. These expectations were well founded; for, in as short a time as the recruits could be collected from the more distant districts, 750 men were assembled at Inverness, and 500 at Perth, forming a battalion of twelve companies, with the following officers, whose commissions were dated 8th of June 1745:

*Colonel*, John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, died in 1782, a General in the army.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, John Campbell, (late Duke of Argyle,) died a Field-Marshal in 1806.

*Captains.*

John Murray, son of Lord George Murray, (late Duke of Atholl.)
Alexander Livingston Campbell, son of Ardkinglas.
John Macleod, younger of Macleod.
Henry Munro, younger of Fowlis.
Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon.
John Stuart, son of the Earl of Moray.
Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay.
Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.
John Sutherland of Forse.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore.
Archibald Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab.

*Lieutenants.*

Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.
Alexander Maclean.
John Campbell of Strachur, died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 57th regiment.
John Robertson, or Reid, of Straloch, died. in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th regiment.
Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus.
Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine.
Patrick Campbell, son of Achalader.
Donald Macdonald.
James Macpherson of Kellihuntly.
John Campbell of Ardsliginish.
Alexander Campbell, brother to Barcaldine.
Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.
Colin Campbell of Glenure.

*Ensigns.*

James Stewart of Urrard.
John Martin of Inch.
George Munro of Novar.
Malcom Ross, younger of Pitcalnie.
Hugh Mackay.
James Fraser.
David Spalding of Ashintully.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Macneil.
Alexander Maclagan of Little Dunkeld.
Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, afterwards Commissary General for Great Britain.
John Grant, younger of Dalrachnie.

This corps was fortunately embodied at a critical period, being only a few weeks previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion, a circumstance which undoubtedly prevented many of the men from joining the rebels. And there can be little doubt, that, had this plan of raising regiments in the

Highlands been more early adopted and more fully extended, and had a field of honour and preferment been opened to the gentlemen of the country, this unfortunate insurrection would not have been attempted, and the ruin of many honourable families might have thus been prevented.

The liberal and even paternal, indulgence shown by his Majesty towards the victims of mistaken loyalty is well known. * He looked upon their political attachment, and their fidelity to an unfortunate family, as pledges of disinterested loyalty, which might, by kindness, be at some future day transferred to the proper object, and which afforded the best proof of ultimate support to his own person and government. He therefore received graciously not only the descendants of those who had been engaged in that rebellion, but likewise several who had themselves acted a conspicuous part in it. Among these were the Earl of Airley and Lord Macleod, General Fraser of Lovat, Mr Farquharson of Monaltree, Sir John Wedderburn, and others. † Several of these individuals were early employed in his Majesty's service.

* His Majesty knew well that there were many gentlemen in the North, who not only refused to take the oaths of abjuration, but hesitated to drink his health as King of Great Britain. To those gentlemen he frequently sent his compliments by any person whom he knew going to their part of the country, and always reminded them, that, on the failure of their own King, he expected a transfer of their loyalty and attachment. He was much diverted with the ingenious method which a gentleman of Perthshire (Mr Oliphant of Gask) adopted to avoid drinking his health, and to substitute that of another. Gask had christened his son Charles. The boy sat next his father every day at dinner; and, after the cloth was removed, the old gentleman filled a bumper, and, turning round to his son, cried out, with a tap on the shoulder, "Charles, the King's health!"

† As an instance of the influence his Majesty's conduct had on the mind and feelings of those who were once disposed to dispute the right of his family to the throne, I may mention that of an old and honourable Jacobite, who died in Athole a few years ago. It will be recollected, that, when the French took possession of the Papal territories, they drove the late Cardinal York from his residence at Frescati, and that his Majesty settled an annuity of L. 4000 on the Cardinal, who, in return for this generous liberality, left him the Ribbon and

By the breaking out of the Rebellion this regiment was called to the field without being disciplined; but this deficiency was then of the less importance, as the habits of the people made the change to a military life easy: and besides, the enemy they were to meet was as undisciplined as themselves. Besides, in those days, a young soldier was not startled at the report of his own piece, nor did it require time to accustom him to fire ball without shrinking. *

This regiment did not act in a body during those troubles. So rapid and unexpected were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between the Perth and Inverness divisions was interrupted, and they never united till after the suppression of the insurrection. Indeed, several

Star of the Order of the Garter, which had been worn by Charles I., "the only property now in his possession, and the only legacy he had to leave to the rightful heir of his family, and possessor of that crown which his father and brother had so long claimed." The old gentleman I have just noticed had been "*out*" (as the term was) in the year 1745, and retained his ancient predilections to the last. Living to a great age, his sight failed; and, one morning as his son was reading the newspapers aloud, he came to this notice of what the King had done for the Cardinal.—"Hold there," says the old man, starting up; "read that again." When this was done, he exclaimed, with great emotion, "May God Almighty, in his infinite goodness, bless and prosper him in the chair * he fills and deserves so well, and may God forgive me for not saying so before;" and, as long as he lived, he never failed praying daily for his Majesty.

* If the volunteer system had served no other purpose but to accustom the youth to the use of arms, the money expended would have been well bestowed. Happily for this country, war has for a long period been kept at such a distance, that its fatigues, habits, and dangers, have been known only by report; and young men had been so little accustomed to fire-arms, that it was equally ridiculous and remarkable to observe the alarm with which many were filled when they first began to use gunpowder. After they were in some measure habituated to this innocent but noisy exercise, it required a second training to make them cool and steady when firing ball.

* The Highlanders call the Throne the Chair, in allusion, probably, to the chair in which so many of their Kings of ancient Albion had been crowned, and which is now in the Tower of London.

of the officers and a number of the men actually joined the rebels. The companies in the northern counties were employed there under Lord Loudon, while others were occupied in the central and southern Highlands. Three companies, under the Honourable Captains Stuart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were present at the battle of Preston in September 1745. Every man and officer was taken prisoner. Three companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where they lost Captain Campbell and six men killed, and two soldiers wounded.

After the suppression of the Rebellion, the regiment remained in Scotland till the month of May 1747, when they were marched to Burntisland, and embarked there on the 30th, with orders to join the allied armies in Flanders. Owing to various delays, a junction was not formed with the Duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of La Felt on the 2d of July; and hence it happened to Lord Loudon's as to Lord John Murray's Highlanders, who unfortunately arrived too late for the battle of Dettingen, and thereby lost the opportunity of ditsinguishing themselves on that occasion, the only victory obtained in those campaigns. It is remarkable, that, although the British had the advantage in the first part of every battle, and the enemy gave way to their impetuous advances, yet, when victory seemed their own, they were compelled by some fatality, or rather, perhaps, by the great talents of Marshal Saxe, to retire from the field. Such was the case at La Lelt, which might lessen the disappointment of Loudon's regiment at being absent; at the same time, it may be recollected, that on no future occasion was the conduct of the 42d regiment more favourably noticed than at Fontenoy, which was a thorough defeat. But as all true soldiers must regret the loss of every opportunity of distinguishing themselves, so the delay which prevented the junction of this regiment with the Duke of Cumberland's army previously to this battle must be considered as a misfortune,—a misfortune, however, which they had soon an opportunity of retrieving on an important ser-

vice, namely, the defence of Bergen-op-zoom. This garrison Marshal Saxe had determined to attack with 25,000 men, under the command of General Count Lowendahl. To oppose this force, all the disposable troops in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were collected and marched to the lines of Bergen-op-zoom. These lines were strongly fortified, and occupied by eighteen battalions, to relieve the garrison of a portion of their duty, and to preserve the communication with the country. This fortress, a favourite work of Coehorn, which had never been taken, and was supposed impregnable, contained six battalions, supported by the eighteen in the lines, with 250 pieces of cannon. General Croustrum, the governor of Brabant, assumed the command. He was an officer of great experience, but aged, and so deaf, that he could hardly hear the report of his own guns.

General Lowendahl carried on his preparations and approaches with great vigour, and opened his batteries on the 14th of July. These were met with equal vivacity by the besieged. The importance of the place, the number of the opposing forces, and the vigour with which it was attacked and defended, attracted the attention of all Europe. From the 15th of July till the 17th of September, the siege was carried on without intermission. The besiegers suffered extremely, and were repulsed in every attempt. The troops in the town were relieved every twenty-four hours from the lines, and were so protected with covered ways and casements, that their loss was comparatively small. Many instances of bravery were displayed on both sides, in the different attacks and sorties. In one of these we find, that, on the 25th of July, "the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro which covers the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, made a sally sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that, had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war,

his demand would certainly have been granted; but, as he had begun the siege, like an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to ask or grant any suspension of arms." * There were more mines sprung, and more lives lost by their explosion, than in almost any similar operations on record. Those of the French were thrice exploded by the garrison, and, on one occasion, seven hundred of the enemy were destroyed in one of their own mines, which exploded too soon. At length breaches were made in a ravelin, and two bastions. The breaches being enlarged, General Lowendahl attempted a storm, which he accomplished on the night of the 16th September, when his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and got possession of the ramparts, along which they ranged themselves, almost before the garrison had assembled. So sudden and unexpected was the attack, that several of the officers flew into the ranks in their shirts. But, although the enemy got possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town so easily. There they were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, which made so firm a stand, that the governor and garrison were enabled to recover themselves from their first surprise; otherwise the whole would have been killed, or forced to surrender. "The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour, that they drove them from street to street, till fresh reinforcements pouring in, compelled them to retreat in their turn, disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded, when the remains brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines." †

* Hague Gazette.

† On comparing the assaults on Bergen-op-zoom in 1747 and 1814, the coincidence of circumstances in the first part of the operations is striking. In 1814 the troops scaled the walls, and while one part secured the principal gate and drawbridge, the others got possession of the

These troops made no movement in support of the garrison, but retreated immediately, with apparently unnecessary precipitation, abandoning all to the enemy. An account of this assault published at the Hague states, that "Two battalions of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country, which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who from 1450 are now reduced to 330 men, and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a *more speedy way to escape danger*." * Another account, in commemorating the loss in this assault, says, "It appears that more than 300 of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had 19 officers killed, and 18 wounded. † Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: 'Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-zoom.'" ‡

The fate of this strong and important place excited vehement suspicions of treachery on the part of the garrison.

ramparts, and ranged themselves along two-thirds of the bastions, and all with no effectual resistance from the enemy. But, in the further execution and final result of this bold and well arranged enterprise, so highly creditable to the commander, and which deserved a better fate, the troops of General Graham were not so fortunate as those of Count Lowendahl, who was created a Field Marshal by the King of France, and appointed governor of the conquest he had achieved.

* Hague Gazette.

† History of the Siege.

‡ Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomerie's Highlanders in 1757, raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759, and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant Regiment, and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775-6.

After holding out with so much firmness against the most vigorous assaults, it at last yielded with little resistance beyond what was made by the Scotch brigade. So great was the anxiety of the people of the United Provinces for the safety of this garrison, that they supplied the soldiers with an additional allowance of provisions, and every necessary assistance; with nourishing food and cordials for the sick and wounded. Large sums of money were presented by individuals, and collected by general contribution, to encourage the soldiers to make a resolute defence. In Amsterdam L. 17,000 were collected in one day to be distributed among the soldiers if they compelled the enemy to raise the siege. During its continuance, every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown. Some of the Scotch soldiers gained ten crowns a-day by this kind of service. Those who performed more daring exploits, such as taking the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy, when they fell within the garrison, were rewarded with ten or twelve ducats. With such an anxious desire to preserve their garrison, the disappointment of the Dutch was deep and strong. They consequently gave ear the more readily to insinuations of treachery on the part of the commanders, who had so strong a force at their disposal. Whatever might have been the cause of the final result, the resolute defence made during the siege is proved from the loss of the enemy, which exceeded 22,000 men, an estimate which, great as it is, was believed and confessed by the French themselves to be correct, while that of the garrison, from their covered situation, and spirited resistance in all attacks except the last, did not exceed 4,000 men. No detailed account of casualties was published. *

* Mrs Grant, in her "Superstitions of the Highlanders," gives the following anecdote of faithful attachment:—Captain Fraser of Culduthel, an officer of the Black Watch, was a volunteer at this celebrated siege, as was likewise his Colonel, Lord John Murray. Captain Fraser was accompanied by his servant, who was also his foster-

After the loss of Bergen-op-zoom, the regiment joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748 was ordered to Scotland, and reduced at Perth in the month of June of that year.

brother.* A party from the lines was ordered to attack and destroy a battery raised by the enemy. Captain Fraser accompanied this party, directing his servant to remain in the garrison. "The night was pitch dark, and the party had such difficulty in proceeding, that they were forced to halt for a short time. As they moved forward, Captain Fraser felt his path impeded, and putting down his hand to discover the cause, he caught hold of a plaid, and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the caitiff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring voice of his foster-brother. 'What the devil brought you here?' 'Just love of you, and care of your person.' 'Why so, when your love can do me no good, and why encumber yourself with a plaid?' 'Alas, how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and I not been there to carry you to the surgeon, or to Christian burial; and how could I do either without my plaid to wrap you in?' Upon inquiry, it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his knees and hands between the centinels, then followed the party at some distance, till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground beside his master, that he might be near him unobserved."

This faithful adherent had soon occasion to assist at the obsequies of his foster-brother, who was killed a few days afterwards by an accidental shot, as he was looking over the ramparts viewing the operations of the enemy.

* "When a son is born to the chief of a Highland family, there generally arises a contention among the tenants which of them shall have the fostering of the child when it is taken from the nursery. The happy man who succeeds in his suit is ever after called the foster-father; and his children the foster-brothers and sisters of the young laird." †

† Letters from an English Officer in the Highlands to a Friend in London.

## SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT,

## OR

## MONTGOMERIE'S HIGHLANDERS.

### 1757.

As will be noticed, in speaking of the 78th regiment, when Government had determined to raise Highland corps, letters of service were issued to Major the Honourable Archibald Montgomerie, son of the Earl of Eglinton, to recruit a regiment in the north. From his connections and personal character, Major Montgomerie was peculiarly well qualified for the command of a Highland regiment. Having one sister, Lady Margaret, married to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate, in the northern; and another, Lady Christian, married to the Laird of Abercairney, on the borders of the southern Highlands; he mixed much with the people, and being a high-spirited young man, with a considerable dash of romantic enthusiasm in his composition, and with manners cheerful and affable, he made himself highly acceptable to the Highlanders; and by the support which he met with, and the judicious selection of officers of influence in the north, he soon completed an excellent body of men, who were formed into a regiment of 13 companies, of 105 rank and file each, making in all, with 65 serjeants, 30 pipers and drummers, 1,460 effective men. The corps was numbered the 77th regiment.

Colonel Montgomerie's commission was dated the 4th of January 1757, and those of all the other officers each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

*Lieutenant-Colonel commanding.*

The Honourable Archibald Montgomerie, (afterwards Earl of Eglinton,) died a General in the army, and Colonel of the Scotch Greys, in 1796.

*Majors.*

James Grant of Ballendalloch, died a General in the army in 1806.
Alexander Campbell.

*Captains.*

John Sinclair.
Hugh Mackenzie.
John Gordon.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St John's, 1761.
William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quêsne, 1759.
George Munro, do. do.
Robert Mackenzie.
Allan Maclean, from the Dutch Brigade, Colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died a Major-general, 1784.
James Robertson.
Allan Cameron.
*Captain-Lieutenant,* Alexander Mackintosh.

*Lieutenants.*

Charles Farquharson.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quêsne, 1759.
Nichol Sutherland, died lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.
Archibald Robertson.
Duncan Bayne.
James Duff.
Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du Quesne.
James Grant.
Alexander Macdonald.
Joseph Grant.
Robert Grant.
Cosmo Martin.
John Macnab.
Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique, 1762.
Donald Macdonald.
William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quêsne.
Robert Mackenzie, do.
Henry Munro.
Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quesne.
Donald Campbell.
Hugh Montgomerie, now Earl of Eglinton.
James Maclean, killed in the West Indies, 1761.
Alexander Campbell.
John Campbell.
James Macpherson.
Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Havannah, 1762.

*Ensigns.*

Alexander Grant.
William Haggart.
Lewis Houston.
William Maclean.
James Grant.
John Macdonald.

Ronald Mackinnon.
George Munro.
Alexander Mackenzie.
John Maclachlane.
Archibald Crawford.
James Bain.
Allan Stewart.

*Chaplain,* Henry Monro.
*Adjutant,* Donald Stewart.
*Quarter-Master,* Alex. Montgomerie.
*Surgeon,* Allan Stewart.

This corps was embodied at Stirling, and embarked at Greenock for Halifax, without time being allowed for acquiring the use of arms in an uniform manner. On the commencement of operations in 1758, the 77th was attached to the corps under Brigadier General Forbes, in the expedition against Fort du Quêsne. This, and all the other movements of this regiment, are included in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment.

Montgomerie's Highlanders were often employed in small detached expeditions, traversing, to a very great extent, the most difficult countries. In these marches they had numberless skirmishes with the Indians, and with the irregular troops of the enemy; * a species of service of the

* Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in an ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence the same operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk, or sword, and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard, to collect the plants proper for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled these herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired the strongest man among them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian, levelling a blow with all his might, cut with such force, that

most harassing kind, as it required the greatest personal exertion on the part of the soldiers, and demanded constant vigilance and presence of mind on that of the officers. Hence, it was well calculated to open a field to the junior officers for acquiring professional experience in their detached commands. The enterprises in which they were engaged necessarily obliged them to depend on their own resources, in a way quite different from what would have been called for, had they been acting under the immediate direction of others.

At the conclusion of the war, all the officers and men who chose to settle in America were permitted to do so, each receiving a grant of land in proportion to his rank. A number of these officers and men, as well as those of the 78th regiment, joined the King's standard in 1775, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

The following is a statement of the killed and wounded during the war:—

| DATE. | NAME OF THE STATIONS. | KILLED. | | | | WOUNDED. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Officers. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Officers. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| Sept. 11, 1758, | Fort du Quesne, | 7 | 3 | 2 | 92 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 201 |
| June 1, 1760, | Little Keome, | | | | 2 | | | | |
| 27, | Estatoe, - | | 2 | | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| 1761, | Martinique, - | 1 | | | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 26 |
| 1762, | Havannah, - | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 6 |
| | St John's, - | 1 | | | 4 | | | | 2 |
| | On passage to the West Indies, | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Total, | 11 | 5 | 2 | 110 | 14 | 9 | 4 | 259 |

the head flew off to the distance of several yards. The Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity, that they refrained from inflicting farther cruelties on the remaining prisoners.

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS.

### 1757.

In the course of ten years after the Insurrection of 1745, the wise policy of Lord Chatham (then Mr Pitt) had suggested a remedy for the spirit of disaffection among the Highlanders, which his sagacity had enabled him to trace to its proper source. It did not escape his penetration, that much of their attachment to the descendants of their ancient kings was to be ascribed to the romantic and chivalrous dispositions of the people, which kindled and kept warm the sentiment of mistaken loyalty, by constant reference to the misfortunes and sufferings of those who were its objects. He, therefore, determined to abandon the illiberal policy which had served only to alienate the affections of a valuable portion of the people, and to repose that confidence in the gratitude and fidelity of the Highlanders, which future events have so fully justified. In his celebrated speech on the commencement of the differences with America, in 1766, he thus expresses himself: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before the last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." An anonymous author, a friend of Lord Chat-

ham's, noticing how this call to arms was answered, observes of those men who, a few years before, and while they saw any hope, "were devoted to, and too long had followed, the fate of the race of Stuart;" that "now battalions on battalions were raised in the remotest parts of the Highlands. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connections obtained commissions, the lower class, always ready to follow, they with eagerness endeavoured who should be first enlisted."

Actuated by such liberal sentiments, Mr Pitt, in the year 1757, recommended to his Majesty George II. to attach the Highlanders to his person, by employing them in his service; and, in evidence of the disappearance of all jealousy on the part of the Crown, the Honourable Simon Fraser, who had himself been engaged in the Rebellion, for which his father, Lord Lovat, had been beheaded on Tower Hill, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of a battalion, to be raised on the forfeited estate of his own family, (then vested in the Crown,) and of those of his kinsmen and clan.

The result showed that the experiment had succeeded, and with what disinterested fidelity young Lovat had been supported. Without estate, money, or influence; beyond that influence which flowed from attachment to his family, his person, and name; this gentleman, in a few weeks, found himself at the head of 800 men, recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country and the officers of the regiment, added more than 700; and thus a battalion was formed of 13 companies of 105 rank and file each, making in all 1,460 men, including 65 serjeants and 30 pipers and drummers.

All accounts concur in describing this as a superior body of men. Their character and actions raised the military reputation, and gave a favourable impression of the moral virtues of the sons of the mountains.

The following list will show the names of the officers, whose commissions were dated 5th of January 1757.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant,* the Honourable Simon Fraser, died a Lieutenant-General in 1782.

*Majors.*

James Clephane.
John Campbell of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

*Captains.*

John Macpherson, brother of Clunie.
John Campbell of Ballimore.
Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.
Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanronald, killed at Quebec in 1769.
John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards Colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's Regiment.
Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.
Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.
Thomas Fraser of Strui.
Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.
Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.
James Fraser of Belladrum.
*Captain-Lieutenant* Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-General in 1812.

*Lieutenants.*

Alexander Macleod.
Hugh Cameron.
Ronald Macdonald of Keppoch.
Charles Macdonell from Glengarry, killed at St John's.
Roderick Macneill of Barra, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.
William Macdonell.
Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon.
John Fraser of Balnain.
Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.
Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.
John Fraser.
Alexander Macdonell, son of Barisdale, killed on the Heights of Abraham 1759.
Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg.
Alexander Campbell of Aross.
John Douglass.
John Nairn.

Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock.
Alexander Fraser.
John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick 1813.
Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec 1760.
David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg.
Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.
Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glencvis.
Allan Cameron.
John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg.
Simon Fraser.
Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup.
James Murray, killed at Louisbourg.
Alexander Fraser.
Donald Cameron, son of Fassfearn, died Lieutenant on half pay 1817.

*Ensigns.*

John Chisholm.
John Fraser of Erroggie.
Simon Fraser.
James Mackenzie.
Malcolm Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th regiment.
Donald Macneil.
Henry Munro.
Hugh Fraser, afterwards Captain 84th, or Highland Emigrants.
Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.
James Henderson.
Robert Menzies.
John Campbell, killed.

*Chaplain,* Robert Macpherson. *Quartermaster,* John Fraser.
*Adjutant,* Hugh Fraser. *Surgeon,* John Maclean.

The uniform was the full Highland dress, with musquet and broad sword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expence, and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or hawk's feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feathers in the bonnets of the

soldiers were a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, a good defence against a vertical sun.

The regiment was quickly marched to Greenock, where it embarked, in company with Montgomerie's Highlanders, and landed at Halifax in June 1757. In this station it remained till it formed a junction with the expedition against Louisbourg, the details of which, and the conquest of Canada, are included in the general narrative. On all occasions, this brave body of men sustained an uniform character for unshaken firmness, incorruptible probity, and a strict regard to both military and moral duties. Their religious discipline was strictly attended to by their very respectable chaplain, the Reverend Robert Macpherson, who followed every movement, and was indefatigable in his clerical duties. The men of the regiment were always anxious to conceal their misdemeanours from the *Caipal Mor*, as they called the chaplain, from his large size.

The regiment was quartered between Canada and Nova Scotia till the conclusion of the war, when a number of the officers and men expressing a desire to settle in the country, all those who made this choice were discharged, and received a grant of land. The rest were sent home and discharged in Scotland. Of those who settled in America, upwards of 300 enlisted in the 84th regiment in 1775, and formed the foundation of two very fine battalions, then embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

When the regiment landed in North America it was proposed to change the uniform, as the Highland garb was said to be unfit for the severe winters, and the hot summers of that country. The officers and soldiers vehemently protested against any change, and Colonel Fraser explained to the Commander-in-Chief the strong attachment which the men cherished for their national dress, and the consequences that might be expected to follow, if deprived of it. This

representation was successful. In the words of a veteran who embarked and returned with the regiment, "Thanks to our generous Chief, we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitutions, for in the coldest winters our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing."

*Return of Killed and Wounded of Fraser's Highlanders during the War of* 1756 *and* 1763.

| DATE. | PLACES. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Pipers and Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| July 1758. | Louisbourg, | | 1 | 3 | | | 17 | | 1 | 2 | | | 41 |
| Sept. 2, 1759. | Montmorency, | | | 2 | | 1 | 18 | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 85 |
| Sept. 13, —— | Heights of Abraham, | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 14 | | 2 | 8 | 7 | | 131 |
| April 1760. | Quebec, | | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 51 | 1 | 4 | 22 | 10 | | 119 |
| Sept. 1762. | St John's, | | 1 | | | | 3 | | | | | | 7 |
| | | | 4 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 103 | 2 | 9 | 35 | 17 | | 383 |

## KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS, OR EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH REGIMENTS.

### 1759.

AN active war brings into rivalry and contrast the physical powers and intellectual capacities of mankind, and shows that success in the field as frequently depends on pre-eminence in courage, and physical strength, as on numbers. The wars in which Great Britain has been engaged, since the middle of the last century, have introduced the military character of the Scots Highlanders to the notice of the Government of the country, and to that of the world in

general. From the time of their first introduction into the British army they have maintained the reputation of brave and trust-worthy soldiers. By the military of those European nations who have either served with them, or opposed them in the field, they are almost never mentioned but in terms of respect bordering on admiration. This military character, allowed equally by friends and foes, may be accounted for, by reference to the modes, habits, and feelings, which anteriorly prevailed, and which were cherished in their native country.

The education which Highlanders, in former ages, received, in their native glens, moulded their minds by impressions more vivid and permanent, than any which can be conveyed in formal systems of scholastic instruction, and was naturally calculated to produce firmness of character in the intercourse of civil life, and to prepare them, as soldiers, for the severest trials of war.

The feudal system, or patriarchal government of the clans, however startling and inconsistent the proposition may appear to many, generated and cherished a spirit of independence and self-respect, which, in a very eminent degree, tended to preserve correct principles and character; it also secured to the Highlanders an education which fitted them for the station they were destined to hold in civil and military society. They were taught to believe themselves descended of persons distinguished for bravery and virtue from a remote antiquity. Hence the desire of preserving the honour of a respected ancestry stimulated them to daring actions in the field, as the dread of being a reproach to their memory deterred from the commission of crime in civil life. "The Highlander was thus brave as a soldier, decorous and correct in his moral conduct. His exterior aspect might be rugged, but the soul was lofty and enthusiastic; capable at once of receiving and retaining honourable impressions." *

* Jackson's Military Characteristics.

It was from among these Highlanders, of the ancient school, that two regiments, commanded by Major Robert Murray Keith, and Major John Campbell of Dunoon, were formed. Major Keith had served in the Scotch Brigade, in Holland, and, after the death of his illustrious relative, Field Marshal Keith, at the battle of Hochkirchen in 1758, had returned to Scotland, where he was appointed to command three newly raised companies of Highlanders, consisting of 105 men each. With this small corps, he joined the allied army in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand, in August 1759.

The opinion early formed of this corps may be estimated from the circumstance of their having been ordered to attack the enemy the third day after they arrived in the camp of the allies. In what manner this duty was executed may be learned from the following statement. "The Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luchner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eyback, sword in hand, where Beau Fremonte's regiment of dragoons were posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed and many prisoners taken, together with two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves greatly by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with regular discipline."

By the recommendation of Prince Ferdinand, founded on a favourable opinion of the conduct of this little corps, orders were given to augment it to 800 men, with officers in proportion; and, at the same time, to raise another regiment in the Highlands, both of which were to be placed under the command of his Serene Highness. The latter corps was to be of the same strength, and the command was given to John Campbell of Dunoon, reserving liberty to the Earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the Lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the north, to

appoint captains and officers to companies raised on their respective estates. Lord Breadalbane recommended Major Macnab of Macnab, Captain Campbell of Achalader, Mr Campbell of Auch, and other officers. Macleod raised a company in the Isle of Sky, to which he appointed his nephew Captain Fothringham of Powrie. All the men were raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. A few weeks only were required to fill the ranks from that range of country.

When the men had marched down from the Highlands, Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth, and Campbell's at Stirling. Of the officers of both regiments, there are now alive the Duke of Roxburghe, then Captain James Innes; Mr Grant of Tullochgorum, a lieutenant, and Mr Campbell of Auch, an ensign.

These two battalions being embodied at the same time, and ordered on the same service, officers were promoted and removed from the one to the other in the manner practised, at a latter period, when second battalions were added to regiments. They were embarked for Germany, and joined the allied army under Prince Ferdinand, in 1760. Though they had but little time for discipline, and none for experience, they were placed in the grenadier brigade; a distinguished honour for so young a corps.

The campaign having opened on the 29th of July 1760, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick marched from the camp at Kalle, with a body of troops, including the two English battalions of grenadiers, and the two of Highlanders, and four squadrons of Cope's and Conway's dragoons; and, on the 30th, in a smart action, near Warburg, defeated the enemy with considerable loss. Prince Ferdinand wrote to King George II. an account of the battle; and, after stating the relative losses of the enemy and of the allies, fixing the former at 1,500 men, and more than an equal number prisoners, he adds, that "ours, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English grenadiers, and the two regiments of Scots High-

landers, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly."

Immediately after this piece of service another was attempted with equal success. On the night of the 5th of August, the army marched to Zeirenberg, (Maxwell's battalions of grenadiers and the Highlanders forming the head of the column,) and advanced to within two miles of the fortress in sight of the enemy's fires. The corps above mentioned proceeded by different roads, and in profound silence, to the attack of the place, which was carried in the most gallant manner. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the chasseurs. The column of English grenadiers advanced in great order, with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity." * Another account states, that "the brigade formed of grenadiers and Highlanders distinguished themselves remarkably upon this occasion." † The brigade afterwards returned to Warburg, where they remained till the 5th of October 1760, when, having received orders to join the Hereditary Prince, they proceeded, with all expedition, and, on the 14th, arrived at a very critical moment, when the allied army, having been attacked by Marshal de Castries, was compelled to retire, and to take up a position near the convent of Campvere.

The Prince being joined by Lieutenant-General Waldgrave's and Major-General de Bork's corps, determined to attack the Marshal in his turn, before the arrival of some expected reinforcements. The action which ensued was well sustained from five till nine in the morning, when the Prince gave orders to retreat, and again left his antagonist in possession of the field of battle. In this affair the Highlanders were actively engaged in different parts of the field. "They were in the first column of attack, were the last to

* Military Memoirs.

† Hague Gazette.

retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained, that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders, from an aide-de-camp sent by the Prince, desiring him to retreat, as to persist in maintaining his position longer would be an useless waste of human life."*

The night before the battle, Major Pollock was sent, with one hundred men of the grenadiers, and one hundred of Keith's, to surprise the Convent of Closter Camp, where the enemy had a strong detachment, and where it was believed Marshal de Castries and several general officers intended to pass the night. Major Pollock succeeded in cutting off several centinels without noise, and excited no alarm till he came to the centinel of the main guard, on whom he rushed, running him through the body with his sword. But the thrust not being immediately mortal, the wounded man turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead. This alarmed the enemy, who prepared for the attack, and their opponents being equally ready, a general action commenced, and concluded in the manner above stated. *

It does not appear that these two battalions, who had now acquired the character of veteran soldiers, were again engaged till the battle of Fellinghausen in July 1761. On that occasion their conduct was honoured by a flattering mark of approbation from the Commander-in-Chief. "His Serene Highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command, his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks *of the chosen*

* At this time the corps was joined by a reinforcement of 400 men from Johnson's Highlanders, and soon afterwards by 200 of Macleon's.

*troops of France*, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, communicating these orders of his Serene Highness, adds, "The humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, does them as much honour as their subduing the enemy." While these soldiers were thus supporting the honour of their country, their humanity, their upright principles, and their conciliating manners in quarters, were equally the objects of approbation. Indeed, the latter part of their character was considered as still more remarkable than the former. In regard to their conduct and character, nearly the same absurd anticipations had been formed in Germany as in many parts of Great Britain. The Highlanders were, in both countries, regarded as semi-barbarians, to whom courage and the other warlike virtues might be allowed, but from whom urbanity towards strangers, kindness to prisoners, and regularity of conduct, acceptable to all, were not, by any means, to be expected: when discovered, therefore, they excited the more surprise. *

Nothing worthy of notice occurred till June 1762, when these corps formed a part of the troops under Prince Ferdinand, in the successful attack of the French army, under the command of the Marshals d'Estrées and Soubies, at Graibenstein. The victory was, in itself, so complete, and obtained with so little loss, that it appeared rather the result of surprise than of a regular engagement. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted

* No trait in the character of these corps was more noticed than the respect paid by the men to their chaplain, Mr Macauley, and the influence which he possessed over their minds and actions. Many of the men, when they got into any little scrape, were more anxious to conceal it from the chaplain than from the commanding officer.

to upwards of 4,000, including two hundred officers; while the loss of the allies did not exceed 700 men. The British guards, grenadiers, and Highlanders, were, on this occasion, under the command of the Marquis of Granby, "who acquitted himself with remarkable valour, and had a great share in the victory. Our troops behaved with a bravery not to be paralleled, especially *our grenadiers and Highlanders.* The guards and Hodgson's (the 5th regiment) *behaved nobly,* and took as many prisoners as they had men."

Various passages have been quoted from periodical and other publications, for the purpose of showing the impression made in England and other countries, by the appearance of the Scotch mountaineers in their native garb; and it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to give some idea of the feelings they excited, and the opinions entertained of them among our German allies. With this view I shall copy a curious article which appeared in the Vienna Gazette of that year, and which communicates some singular intelligence respecting our countrymen. They are there described as running wild in their native woods and mountains, like savages, and as ignorant of the principles of Christianity, but capable of becoming good and useful subjects when converted from Heathenism. "The Scotch Highlanders are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper, from the other inhabitants of Britain. They are caught in the mountains when young, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in every thing, for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the bye, shows the rectitude of human nature before it is vitiated by ex-

ample or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their King's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilize and instruct them in the principles of Christianity, will meet with success." To this account it is added, that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglio himself has lately said, that he once wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size, since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers."

During the remainder of this campaign, military operations were continued with considerable spirit and enterprise, although negotiations for a general peace had already commenced, and were in a state of great forwardness. Different skirmishes and rencounters happened with various success, but without any decided advantage to either side. These affairs, however, led, on the 12th of August, to an engagement of considerable magnitude. On that day the Hereditary Prince attacked the French who were posted on the heights of Johanisberg, near the banks of the Weir. After a desperate conflict, the Hereditary Prince, who was severely wounded in the hip-bone, was forced to retreat with the loss of more than 3,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. There were no British troops in this affair, except Elliott's dragoons, and the picquets under Lord Frederick Cavendish.

On the 21st of September, another obstinate action took place at Brucher Mühl, remarkable for the perseverance with which each side contended for the possession of the small post which defended the bridge at that place. The allies occupied a redoubt on one side of the road, and the French a mill on the other; the engagement commenced between two small bodies with a few guns, but as the action grew warm, the artillery was gradually augmented to twenty-five pieces of heavy cannon on each side. The allies

had originally but one hundred men in this post, but before the contest was decided, seventeen regiments were engaged, each successfully relieving the other, after they had exhausted their ammunition. A constant fire was supported by these bodies, without intermission, for fifteen hours, from the dawn of day till nightfall. Neither side gave way; and this resolute contest for a trifling object left the combatants in their former situation; the allies in possession of their redoubt, and the French of their mill. In this long contested struggle the allies lost 600 men in killed and wounded. The troops were so well covered in the redoubt, that the principal loss was sustained in passing and repassing when the regiments were relieved. This, in some measure, accounts for the small loss in so long an action with so many corps engaged.

After every engagement, some mark of favour was shown to these two corps. Major Archibald Macnab was appointed additional Lieutenant Colonel, Captain John Murray succeeded Major M'Lean, and Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, James Fraser, William Mackintosh, and Alexander Duff, were appointed captains, with the lieutenants and ensigns in succession.

The siege of Cassel, and its surrender to the allies, on the 1st of November, followed these operations. But while Prince Ferdinand was preparing to lay siege to Zurenberg, a conclusion was put to all farther hostilities, by the notification to both armies of the signature of the preliminaries of peace. This took place on the 15th of November 1762, and thus ended three campaigns, highly honourable to the courage and character of the British army, which, as it was uniformly placed in the post of danger, obtained a high degree of celebrity. Of this reputation, "the little band of Highlanders" earned their full share. As they had been placed in the same brigade with the grenadiers, and often opposed to "the chosen of the enemy's troops," over whom they were uniformly victori-

ous, their military character was, accordingly, well established.

After this, the two regiments were ordered home, and, on their march through Holland, were received, in various towns, with acclamations, the women presenting laurel leaves to the soldiers, and even the children attempting to imitate their garb and broad swords. Some said that these indications of approbation arose from the respect with which they and their broad swords had inspired the common enemy, while others attributed this kind feeling to the friendship and intimacy which had subsisted between the Dutch and the soldiers of the Scotch brigade, which had been so long established in Holland; and asserted, that the esteem now exhibited by the people was only a share of that which the brigade had always enjoyed. Whatever may have been the cause, the reception was equally honourable to both parties.

The regiments embarked at Williamstadt, and landing at Tilbury Fort, marched to Scotland. Though hospitably received in all the towns through which they passed, their reception at Derby was the most remarkable. No payment was taken from them for quarters, and subscriptions were raised to give gratuities to the men. For their cordial reception here, as well as in Holland, different motives were assigned. While some asserted that the whole was done in testimony of respect for military gallantry, and the services they had performed for their country, others alleged, that it originated in, and was called forth by, less loyal motives. The Highlanders, they alleged, were supposed to be Jacobites, as many in the north-western counties of England at that time were; and the people remembered with gratitude, that the rebels had conducted themselves with unexampled regularity in Derby, and had respected the property and persons of the inhabitants. Nor was it forgotten, though they were in open insurrection, and in situations where the greatest turbulence and licentiousness was to be expected, that nothing of the kind had occurred, and

that no ill usage or insult had been offered by those men, who, as a gentleman in Derby, writing at the time to a friend, remarked, "said grace with great seeming devotion, before and after meals, *like any Christian.*"

When they arrived in Scotland, Keith's regiment was marched to Perth, and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and both were reduced in July 1763.

At Linlithgow one of those unfortunate collisions of opinion occurred, of which there have been too frequent instances in corps of this description. I have had occasion, more than once, to notice that a Highland soldier of the old school was orderly, steady, obedient, and attached to officers who merited respect. But then, in order to ensure this respect, strict justice must have been done him, great regard must have been had to his feelings, and, in all his pecuniary transactions with his officers, he must have observed in them the most perfect accuracy. Let these pre-requisites exist, and a Highlander will abandon his post and his life together. In the hurry of the campaign, new clothing had not been served out to the soldiers for the year 1763, and when they were disbanded, it was thought they had no occasion for military uniforms. The soldiers thought otherwise, and said that they were fully entitled to pay, clothing, and all that had been promised, and due to them. The thing was at first resisted, but the men persevering, it was at length acquiesced in, and an allowance in money given them in lieu of the clothing. In this resistance to authority, for the support of what they considered their rights, some indications of violence, very opposite to their previous exemplary conduct, were manifested. But no disrespect was shown to their officers, nor was any blame imputed to them. On the contrary, the confidence of the soldiers in them remained unshaken. This was particularly remarked in the company of Captain Innes, the present Duke of Roxburghe, who were much attached to their young and spirited commander.

The following return of killed and wounded will show the loss of the two regiments from 1760 to 1763.

| NAMES OF PLACES AND BATTLES. | DATES. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Eybach, - - | Jan. 5, 1760, | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | 7 |
| Warburg, - | July 31, —— | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 2 |
| Zurenberg, - | Aug. 5, —— | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | 6 |
| Camphen, - | Oct. 15, —— | 1 | | 2 | 4 | | 37 | | 1 | 4 | | | 10 |
| Fellinghausen, | July 15 & 16, 1761, | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | 31 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | 70 |
| Graibenstein, - | June 28, 1762, | | | | 1 | | 13 | | | | | | 18 |
| Brucher Muhl, | Sept. 21, —— | 1 | | | | | 21 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 58 |
| | | 3 | | 4 | 6 | | 109 | 1 | 3 | 9 | 5 | | 171 |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

Camphen, Major Pollock,
Lieut. William Ogilvie.
Alex. Macleod.
Fellinghausen, Major Archibald Campbell of Achalader.
Fellinghausen, Lieut. William Ross.
John Grant.
Brucher Mühl, Major Alexander Maclean.

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

Warburg, Lieut. Walter Ogilvie.
Camphen, Capt. A. Campbell of Achalader.
Lieut. Gordon Clunes.
Arch. Stewart.
Ang. Mackintosh.
Walter Barland.
Fellinghausen, Major Arch. Macnab.
Capt. James Fraser.
Lieut. Arch. Macarthur.
Pat. Campbell.
Ang. Mackintosh.
Brucher Muhl, Capt. Pat. Campbell.
Lieut. Walter Barland.

## EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

### 1759.

THE ease and rapidity with which the ranks of Fraser's and other Highland regiments had been recruited, encouraged Mr Pitt to follow up his plan of giving commissions to

the gentlemen of the Highlands, and of employing the young and active in his Majesty's service. With this view, Major Staates Long Morris (who had married the Duchess Dowager of Gordon) received instructions to raise a regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed; and, as an inducement to the youth of the north to join this regiment, the Duke, then very young, was appointed captain, Lord William Gordon a lieutenant, and Lord George an ensign.

At that period, the political influence of the Duke of Argyle being great in Scotland, few important measures passed without his concurrence. In this case, however, George II. appointed Major Morris, at the solicitation of the Duchess. She dreaded the influence of Argyle, (who was anxious to direct the local influence of the Gordon family in the minority of the Duke,) and considered the names of her sons indispensably necessary to secure success in raising the men. She was a native of the country, being a daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen, understood well the feelings and characteristic prejudices of the people, and knew how to work on them. She represented the youth of her son, and the danger should his political influence, in his minority, be directed to another family, and especially to that family between which and her own so many ancient feuds had subsisted, the seeds of which still remained, if not in the minds, at least in the traditions of many. Greater exertions were, in consequence, made to support what the Duchess called the cause of her son, and the honour of his family. This attempt was successful. In a few weeks 960 men assembled at Gordon Castle, and marched to Aberdeen in December 1759, when the following officers were appointed:

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant,* Staates Long Morris, 1759.

*First Major,* George Scott, was a general in 1798, and died in 1811.
*Second do.* Hector Munro, was a general in 1798, and died in 1806.

*Captains.*

Alexander Duke of Gordon.
Alexander Duff of Cubben.
George Morrison of Bognie.
William Macgillivray of Drumaglass.
Loduick Grant of Knockando.
Norman Lamont, son to the Laird of Lamont.
Duncan Macpherson, afterwards in the 42d and 71st regiments; died 1807.

*Captain-Lieutenant,* Archibald Dunbar, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield.

*Lieutenants.*

Lord William Gordon.
Charles Gordon, of Shellagreen, afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the 77th, or Atholl Highlanders.
Lawrence Leith.
Alexander Stewart of Lismurdie.
William Baillie, killed in India, 1779, then commanding a detachment of Sir Hector Munro's army.
Alexander Godsman.
William Finlayson, died in Aberdeen, 1817.
Ral. Hanson.
George Campbell.
John Gordon.
John Macdonald, lieutenant-colonel of the 81st Highland regiment, 1783.
Alexander Macpherson.
William Macpherson.
R. T. Rd. Maitland.
James Fordyce.
Robert Munro.
Alexander Duff of Mayne.

*Ensigns.*

Lord George Gordon.
James Gordon.
Alexander Gordon.
Patrick Ogilvie, brother to Ogilvie of East Milne.
John Edwards.
John Macpherson.
Harry Gilchrist, died captain in Lord Macleod's Highlanders in 1799.

*Chaplain,* Alexander Chambers.
*Adjutant,* Alexander Donald.
*Quarter-Master,* James Bennett.
*Surgeon,* James Arthur.

The regiment soon marched from Aberdeen for Portsmouth; embarked there for the East Indies in December 1760, and reached Bombay in November 1761.

The Duke of Gordon left College with the intention of embarking with his friends for the East Indies. This spirited resolution, however, was checked by George II., who recommended to the Duchess to send her son back to finish his education. There being only nine Dukes in the king-

dom of Scotland, he could not, he said, allow him to leave his native country; and, commending his spirit and patriotism, he added, that he had more important services in view for him than any he could perform as captain of a company in the East Indies. This advice, so like a mandate, was of course followed, and the Duke remained at home.

After the 89th had been stationed in different parts of India, Major Hector Munro, with a strong detachment of the regiment, joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patua, at a very critical period, a considerable portion of the troops being then in open mutiny. Major Munro succeeded Carnac in the command, and being well supported by his own regiment, his decision and firmness completely crushed the mutiny, and saved the army. Twenty-five of the ringleaders were tried on the spot, eight of them blown from the mouths of the cannon, and the rest sent for execution to other cantonments.

A proper state of discipline being thus established, the commander was enabled to meet the enemy at Buxar on the 23d of October 1764, when he completely overthrew and dispersed a force nearly five times more numerous than his own. The enemy left on the field 6,000 killed, and 130 pieces of cannon, while the loss on the part of the victors was almost too trifling to be mentioned; amounting to 2 officers, and 4 rank and file, killed of his Majesty's troops. The casualties among the company's troops were more in proportion to their number, but the whole afforded sufficient proof of the low state of the native armies at that period.

The victory was complete, and highly important in its results, and was the more honourable to Major Munro, (who was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel,) as he had gained the battle with troops who had been recently in such a state of insubordination. In a letter from the President and Council of Calcutta to Major Munro, it is said, "The signal victory you gained, so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against

these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such important advantages to the Company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks."

The regiment was soon afterwards ordered to Britain, and in the year 1765 was reduced. This uncommon circumstance attended their service, that, although five years embodied, four of which were spent in India or on the passage going and returning; there was neither death, promotion, nor any change whatever among the officers, except that of Lieutenant Lord William Gordon promoted to the 67th regiment, and that of the successor to his lieutenancy.

There was another circumstance more remarkable, and in itself highly honourable to this respectable corps, and which rests upon the best authority, that out of eight companies raised by the Duke of Gordon, Major Munro, and Captains Macgillivray, Grant, Macpherson, and others, in all 780 men, not a man was brought to the halberts, or deserted during these five years. Of the whole regiment there were only six men brought to corporal punishment. When men exhibit such fidelity to their trust, and such principles regulating their conduct, it were desirable that a less ignominious punishment could be substituted for that personal castigation, so humiliating and degrading to the feelings of a soldier, and the infliction of which generally destroys all sense of shame and honour, and renders a man indifferent to his future conduct, his character being already degraded and forfeited. The difficulty consists in finding a proper substitute. Care ought, however, to be taken that degrading punishments be inflicted only on men who have already lost their character, and on whose obdurate feelings no other motive than simple pain is capable of acting with sufficient force. The foundation of a system, calculated to surmount this difficulty, and to establish modes of punishment sufficient to operate as a check on

the depraved, without annihilating their sense of shame, is a subject equally desirable, important, and difficult. Much will depend upon officers, who have minds capable of understanding the feelings, and of making due allowance for the casual infirmities of human nature, and possessing the firmness and decision necessary to control the turbulent and incorrigible profligate. Many good soldiers have been ruined by the infliction of infamous punishments, while with men of such bold spirits and depraved minds, as frequently enter our army, the terror, and often the infliction, of severe punishments are absolutely necessary.

## JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS, OR 101ST REGIMENT.

### 1760.

In the year 1760 commissions were given to the five following gentlemen to raise Independent Companies in the Highlands, to consist of 5 serjeants and 105 rank and file each, viz. Captains, Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milncraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespick, Ludovick Grant of the family of Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell of Ballivolin.

These officers were to recruit in their own counties of Argyle, Ross, and Inverness. As observed by a respectable veteran, who was a lieutenant in one of those companies, "It was not necessary, in those days, to go to manufacturing towns to bribe with whisky and high bounties, the idle and the profligate; we got plenty of young men in the country." The companies were soon completed. Having assembled at Perth, they were marched to Newcastle, and remained there till towards the end of 1761, when the whole were ordered to Germany to reinforce Keith's and

Campbell's Highlanders.* After the men had embarked, the officers were ordered back again to the Highlands to recruit. On this service they were very successful; for in a few months 600 men were assembled at Perth, and were there formed into a regiment of six companies of 5 serjeants and 105 rank and file each. The regiment was numbered the 101st, and the command given to Major, afterwards Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, with the rank of Major Commandant.

Except Major Johnstone, Adjutant Macveah, and Serjeant-Major Coxwell, every officer and soldier, both in the Independent Companies and in the 101st regiment, were Highlanders.

Although Major Johnstone was not himself a Highlander, he had every qualification for the command of a Highland regiment. An excellent judgment enabled him to perceive the advantages of availing himself of the peculiar habits of the men, and of commanding them rather by influencing their minds, than by the fear of corporal punishments. He entered on his functions with the spirit of a knight of former times, and while he made himself agreeable to his men by wearing their favourite garb, and by humouring and indulging them in the exercise of their characteristic habits and customs, so far as they did not interfere with their duty, he secured their attachment, while he possessed

* While these companies lay at Newcastle, they received orders to be in readiness to march to Durham, as the pitmen in that part of the country had shown a disposition to riot, some collieries having struck work, and proceeded to acts of violence. When this order was received, every cutler's shop in the town was crowded with the soldiers, sharpening their swords, and preparing their arms, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who had formed a very favourable opinion of the Highlanders, and who could not reconcile this apparent ferocity with their regular and orderly conduct, and their ordinarily quiet and obliging disposition. These preparations were the subject of much observation, and being reported to the discontented, the circumstance may have had some influence on their minds in producing that return to tranquillity which rendered active measures against them unnecessary.

their respect by the spirit and energy he displayed. When reviewed at Perth in 1762 by Lieutenant-General Lord George Beauclerk, the regiment received his public commendation, and he declared that he had not seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." But, however capable they were in this respect, they had not an opportunity of being put to the proof. A detachment of the regiment was ordered to Portugal, under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Loudon, but while waiting for orders to sail from Portsmouth, they were countermanded in consequence of the negotiations for peace, and ordered back to Perth, where the regiment was reduced in August 1763.

The character and conduct of the five Independent Companies which had been drafted and sent to Germany, and that of the regiment afterwards recruited by the same officers, were exemplary. Major Johnstone's mode of discipline was admirably calculated for the subjects he had to work upon, and produced the happiest results, so far as regarded conduct in quarters; and, as a man of good character, and of religious and moral habits in quarters, is the best and most trust-worthy soldier in the field, it may be admitted, that, if these men had been tried in the face of an enemy, they would have afforded an additional proof that a Highland soldier of the old school will perform his duty when called upon to fight the enemies of his country under the auspices of those whom he esteemed and loved, and who established their claim to his fidelity and steadiness in the hour of trial, by showing an example of courage and spirit, by personal kindness, and by a condescending attention to his feelings and welfare.

## FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, OR 71ST REGIMENT.

### 1775.

THE rapidity with which the ranks of Colonel Fraser's regiment of 1757 were completed, its honourable and important services, and the character it upheld, were known and acknowledged, and by none more than by his late Majesty, who, with enlightened views of the firm and incorruptible fidelity, and mistaken but generous loyalty of many of his northern subjects, omitted no opportunity of exhibiting towards them the greatest indulgence, of directing their loyalty into the proper channel, and of securing their affections to his person, family, and government, from which they had been long unconstitutionally and unfortunately alienated. Those principles which had withstood so many years of absence and exile, formed the best security for that loyalty which was now in its proper place; and, as this was fully proved by the services of Colonel Fraser and his regiment in the former war, he was by his Majesty, in the year 1772, rewarded with a free grant of his family estate, forfeited to the Crown in 1746. In 1775 he was farther countenanced by receiving letters of service for raising in the Highlands another regiment of two battalions.

By the restoration of his property, he was now in possession of all the power which wealth and territorial influence could command; but his present purpose had less relation to the influence of wealth, than to the preservation of attachment, and respect to his person and family. Relying on the latter alone, when in poverty, and unable to reward, his influence had experienced no diminution, for in a few weeks he found himself at the head of 1,250 men. So much having been done in 1757 without the aid of property or estate, no difficulty was to be expected, now that the case was the reverse; nor did he find any; for, with equal ease and expedition, two battalions of 2,340 Highlanders were

marched up to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow in April 1776. The completion of this numerous corps must, no doubt, have been accelerated by the exertions of his officers, of whom six besides himself were chiefs of clans, and all of respectable families, or sons of gentlemen tacksmen, as will be seen by the following nominal list:

## FIRST BATTALION.

*Colonel* Simon Fraser of Lovat, died in 1782, a lieutenant-general.
*Lieutenant-Colonel* Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a lieutenant-general.

### *Majors.*

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, colonel.
Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot guards in 1791.

### *Captains.*

Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general, 1807.
Donald Chisholm of Chisholm.
Colin Mackenzie, died general in the army, 1818.
Francis Skelly, died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the 94th regiment.
Hamilton Maxwell of Monreith, died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.
John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died lieutenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, at Madras, 1784.
Norman Macleod of Macleod, died lieutenant-general, 1796.
Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.
Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

### *Lieutenants.*

Charles Campbell, son of Ardchattan, killed at Catauba.
John Nairne.
William Nairne of Nairne.
Charles Gordon.
David Kinloch.
Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah.
William St Clair.
Hugh Fraser.
Alexander Fraser.
John Macdougall.
Colin Mackenzie.
Alexander Fraser.
Thomas Fraser, son of Leadclune.
Dougald Campbell.
Robert Macdonald, son of Sanda.
Roderick Macleod.
John Ross.
Patrick Cumming.
Thomas Hamilton.

*Ensigns.*

Archibald Campbell.
Henry Macpherson.
John Grant.
Robert Campbell.
Allan Malcolm.
John Muchinson.
Angus Macdonell.
Peter Fraser.

*Chaplain,* Hugh Blair.
*Adjutant,* Donald Cameron.
*Quarter-Master,* David Campbell.
*Surgeon,* William Fraser.

## SECOND BATTALION.

*Colonel* Simon Fraser.
*Lieutenant-Colonel* Archibald Campbell, died lieutenant-general, 1792.

*Majors.*

Norman Lamont, son of the Laird of Lamont.
Robert Menzies, killed in Boston Harbour, 1776.

*Captains.*

Angus Mackintosh.
Patrick Campbell.
Andrew Lawrie.
Eneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh.
Charles Cameron, son of Fassafearn, killed at Savannah, 1779.
George Munro, son of Culcairn.
Boyd Porterfield.
Law. Rt. Campbell.

*Lieutenants.*

Robert Hutchison.
Alexander Sutherland.
Archibald Campbell.
Hugh Lamont.
Robert Duncanson.
George Stewart.
Charles Bon. Mackenzie.
James Christie.
James Fraser.
Thomas Fraser.
Archibald Balnevis.
Dougald Campbell.
Lodk. Colquhoun.
John Mackenzie.
Hugh Campbell.
John Campbell.
Arthur Forbes.
Patrick Campbell.
Archibald Maclean.
David Ross.
Robert Grant.
Thomas Fraser.

*Ensigns.*

William Gordon.
Charles Main.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Cameron.
Smollet Campbell.
Gilbert Waugh.
William Bain.
John Grant.

*Chaplain,* Malcolm Nicholson.
*Adjutant,* Archibald Campbell.
*Quarter-Master,* J. Ogilvie.
*Surgeon,* Colin Chisholm, Physician in Bristol.

In the preceding list, Sir William Erskine,* Sir Archibald Campbell, Major Menzies, Major Macdonell of Lochgarry, Major Lamont, were officers of long experience, and approved talents, while three-fourths of the others were accomplished gentlemen. With such a selection of officers, and with soldiers of high spirit, good principles, and robust constitutions, the best state of discipline and exemplary conduct were doubtless to be expected. But what might have been the effect of discipline, time was not allowed to show, for such was the urgency of the service, that in a few weeks they were removed from Glasgow to Greenock, where they embarked for immediate service, without any acquired knowledge of the use of arms.

But, although their stay in Glasgow was short, they, in a special manner, attracted the notice of the inhabitants. At this period 3,400 Highlanders of the 42d and 71st, of whom 3,000 were raised and brought from the north in ten weeks, were stationed in Glasgow. The respectable part of the inhabitants were much struck with the regular conduct of these men, so different from what they had perhaps been led to expect. But no part of this conduct was more conspicious than "the cordial habits these strangers were in with the people, although so many of them spoke no English; and more especially their attachment and respect to their officers, and the kindness and familiarity with which the officers talked to their men."

When the regiment was mustered at Glasgow, it was found that more men had come up than were required: these were accordingly left behind when the corps marched to Greenock. Officers who have been in the habit of em-

* Sir William Erskine entered the Scots Greys in 1743. He was a Cornet at the battle of Fontenoy, and carried a standard, his father, Colonel Erskine, commanding the regiment. In the morning of the battle Colonel Erskine tied the standard to his son's leg, and told him, "Go, and take good care of your charge; let me not see you separate; if you return alive from the field, you must produce the standard." After the battle the young Cornet rode up to his father, and showed him the standard as tight and fast as in the morning.

barking with troops, on a distant and dangerous service, have perhaps observed individuals appear as if they would not have been displeased to remain at home. In the present instance the case was different. Several of the men ordered to be left behind were so eager to accompany their countrymen and companions, that they left their officers in Glasgow, and, following the regiment, got on board in the dark, and as their friends there were probably not anxious to inform against them, they were not discovered till the fleet was at sea.

While so many were thus eager to serve their country, others objected to do so, except on certain conditions. The ancient tenants of Captain Cameron of Lochiel had raised 120 men on his forfeited estate, and sent them to the regiment to secure him a company. He was himself confined in London, from a complaint of which he died that year. His men lamented extremely that they did not meet their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when the orders for embarkation arrived, he being still absent, they loudly expressed their sorrow. "They were Lochiel's men; with him at their head they were ready to go to any part of the world, and they were certain some misfortune had happened, or he would have been with them;" and it required all the persuasive eloquence of General Fraser * (and he had a great deal) to explain to their satisfaction the situation of Lochiel, and that they could not more effectually serve him; and display their attachment and duty, than by embarking with their comrades. To this they consented with the more

* While General Fraser was speaking in Gaelic to the men, an old Highlander, who had accompanied his son to Glasgow, was leaning on his staff gazing at the General with great earnestness. When he had finished, the old man walked up to him, and with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors, shook him by the hand, exclaiming, "Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man; so long as you live, Simon of Lovat will never die;" alluding to the General's address and manner, which, as was said, resembled much that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the old Highlanders knew perfectly.

cheerfulness, as Captain Campbell of Fassafearn, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to command them. *

The transports with the 71st sailed in a large fleet, having the 42d and other troops on board. A violent gale, however, scattered the fleet, and several of the single ships fell in with, and were attacked by, American privateers. A transport having Captain, now Sir Æneas Mackintosh, and his company on board, with two six-pounders, made a resolute defence against a privateer with eight guns, till all the ammunition was expended, when they bore down on the privateer with an intention of boarding; she, however, did not wait to receive the shock, and set sail, the transport beingunable to follow.

At this period General Howe had evacuated Boston, and no vessel was left off the harbour, to prevent British ships entering. Owing to this neglect, the transport with Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board sailed into Boston Harbour, where they were attacked by three privateers full of men. These they kept off, repulsing several attempts to board, till at last, when their ammunition was expended, and their rudder disabled by a shot, the ship grounded under a battery, and they were compelled to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were carried prisoners into Boston. The death of an officer of Major Menzies's judgment and experience was an irreparable loss to a corps, where so many of the officers, and all the serjeants and soldiers, were totally undisciplined. Sir William Erskine, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st battalion, was a bold enterprising officer of Elliott's dragoons in

* Lochiel was detained in London by a severe illness, of which he had not recovered when he heard of the conduct of his men, and of the cause. Forgetting his delicate state of health, he hurried down to Glasgow; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his complaint with such a violence, that he died a few weeks afterwards, universally respected and lamented.

Germany; and possessed a mind, perhaps, of too high a cast to take pleasure in superintending the drilling of a new corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 2d battalion, was distinguished as an engineer, and in the scientific parts of the profession, but he was a perfect stranger to the minor and interior discipline of the line. Could an hypothesis be grounded on a few facts, Fraser's Highlanders would prove, that men without discipline, depending entirely on their native spirit and energy, are capable of performing every duty of a soldier in the most perfect manner. Few corps ever went into immediate service with less discipline than this regiment and Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders in Germany. In what manner these corps performed the duty expected of them, the history of the country will show. Keith's regiment was put to a more severe trial in being so early placed in competition with the veteran and chosen troops of France. The want of discipline of the troops opposed to Fraser's in America, rendered the duty in forcing them less arduous; but they entered on every enterprise with spirit, and were highly conspicuous for courage, success, and the terror with which their advances inspired the enemy. Of the disposition and capability of the Highlanders as soldiers, Sir William Howe had formed an opinion from Fraser's Highlanders of the Seven Years' War with whom he had served under General Wolfe. Influenced probably by this opinion, he brought forward the 71st to the front immediately on their landing. The grenadiers were placed in the battalion under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stuart, and the light infantry in Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Abercromby's brigade; the other companies were formed into three small battalions in brigades, under Sir William Erskine, then appointed Brigadier-General. In this manner, and without any training, except what they got on board the transport from non-commissioned officers, nearly as ignorant as themselves, these men were brought into action at Brooklyn, and on no future occasion, even after the experience of six

campaigns, did they display more spirit or soldier-like conduct. Nine hundred men of the 42d, engaged on this occasion, were, indeed, as young soldiers as those of the 71st, but then they had had the advantage of the example of 300 old soldiers, on which to form their military habits and manners, together with a corps of able officers and serjeants of long experience, to teach them every necessary duty; their advantages, therefore, were far greater. Such, indeed, were the constant and active duties, and incessant marching, actions, and changes of quarters of the 71st, that little time could be spared; and, therefore, little attempt was made to give them the polish of parade discipline till the third year of the war. Field discipline, and forcing their enemy to fly wherever they met him, (except on two occasions, when the fault lay not with them,) they understood perfectly, and with this knowledge of discipline, and being "trust-worthy and temperate, brave in the field, conciliating and regular in quarters, wherever duty called them they were to be found." With these qualifications as soldiers, Lords Cornwallis and Moira were perfectly satisfied, and readily overlooked their want of polish, and of more correct parade movements. Towards the conclusion of the third campaign, Major M'Arthur was appointed to the command of the regiment. He had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and in Keith's Highlanders, under Prince Ferdinand, and "no officer, in America, was more a master of mechanical formations and military manœuvres. The effect was visible in the exterior of the 71st. It is a doubt with some, whether the military qualities of the corps were improved. Their conduct was good after they were drilled. It was equally good, perhaps more animated and heroic, before they received this military polish."* In this uncultivated state they were acknowledged to be one of the most hardy serviceable corps ever raised in the Highlands, and to afford full proof that

* Dr Jackson on the Character of the Highlanders as Soldiers.

little preparation is necessary for the execution of every military duty, when men possess the proper elements of the soldier.

The first proof they gave was, as I have already noticed, at the battle of Brooklyn. They disembarked in America towards the end of July 1776; and, in the month of August, a very important duty was assigned them, under their chivalrous commander, Sir William Erskine, namely, to support the grenadiers and guards, the elite of the British army. "Their spirit and intrepidity were universally acknowledged;" and if General Grant, who commanded the left wing of the army, had been allowed to advance with the same ardour which he himself exhibited at Fort du Quêsne in 1758, when major of Montgomerie's Highlanders, the battle of Brooklyn would probably have had a very different conclusion, and might have given a blow to the enemy which they would not have easily recovered. While the battalion companies gave this early promise under the command of Sir William Erskine, the grenadier companies were no less fortunate in their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Charles Stuart, and in the approbation with which their conduct was noticed the same day in the right wing of the army. Here the same ardour was displayed by the troops, the same eagerness to push the enemy to the last extremity, and force them to surrender in the strong position in which they had taken shelter. But General Howe, desirous of saving the lives of his troops, called them back. Had they been allowed to advance, the sacrifice of lives would have been more than compensated by the success which appeared so certain; by the additional spirit which victory thus early would have infused into our troops, and by the despondency which so complete a discomfiture would have occasioned to the enemy.

In the skirmishing warfare of the next campaign, this regiment had constant employment, and particularly in the expeditions to Willsbrough and Westfield, with which the campaign of 1777 commenced. This was immediately previous

to the embarkation of the army for the Chesapeak. In the battle of Brandy Wine they were actively engaged, and remained in Pennsylvania till they embarked for New York in November. Here they were joined by 200 recruits, who had arrived in September, from Scotland. These men, with about 100 recovered men from the hospital, formed a small corps under Captain Colin (afterwards General) Mackenzie. This corps acted as light infantry, and accompanied General Vaughan * in an expedition up the North River, to create a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. On the 6th of October, Fort Montgomery was taken by assault. Captain Mackenzie's corps led the attack, and although so many were recruits, it was said that they exhibited conduct worthy of veterans.

In the year 1778, the 71st regiment accompanied Lord Cornwallis on an excursion into the Jerseys, † and after

* General Vaughan, who commanded in the Jerseys during the winter months, placed such confidence in this regiment, that he kept them constantly with him, and seldom moved without a party of them.

† On this occasion a corps of cavalry, commanded by the Polish Count Pulausky, were surprised and nearly cut to pieces by the light infantry under Sir James Baird. Indeed, there was hardly a movement, however trifling, in which Sir James was not engaged. Whenever he was within reach he was generally first called upon, and he was almost always the first ready. No company in America was more frequently engaged with the enemy. It was said of Colonel Abercromby, that more balls passed him without injury than any other officer, and Sir James and his light infantry, being always in front, had the credit of killing more of the enemy than any other company. "He was not a Highlander, but when he was appointed to this company, he studied the character of the people he commanded, he sung their warlike songs, was frank and familiar as a chief of old, at the same time preserving the full authority of a chief in his character of an officer. He so insinuated himself into their affections, that, though Highlanders have a predilection for Highland blood, no chieftain in his glen ever commanded the devotion of *Gillien* more unreservedly. They knew his *meaning by his whistle*, and they flew with eagerness to obey. He struck the key of the Highlanders' mind in such a manner, as to produce an action of perfect accord. With great personal activity, ardent and fearless, he indulged the propensity of the Highlanders to close upon the enemy." *

* Dr Jackson.

series of movements and countermovements, the two battalions embarked at New York for Georgia in the month of November.

The object of this expedition, which, along with the Highlanders, consisted of two regiments of Hessians, a corps of Provincials, and a detachment of artillery, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, (who had been exchanged this year,) was to take possession of the town of Savannah in order to afford support to the loyalists in the province. Captain Hyde Parker commanded the convoy. The fleet sailed from Sandy Hook on the 29th of November 1777, and, after a stormy passage, reached the river Savannah by the end of December. The 1st battalion of the 71st, and the light infantry, under the immediate command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, landed without opposition a short distance below the town of Savannah. Captain Cameron immediately pushed forward to attack the advanced post of the enemy stationed beyond the landing place. As the light infantry advanced, the enemy fired a volley, by which Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," and three men, were killed; the rest instantly charged the enemy, and drove them back on the main body, drawn up in line on an open plain in rear of the town of Savannah. The disembarkation, with the necessary arrangements for an attack on the enemy, were soon completed. Savannah was then an open town, without any

Although I have avoided saying any thing in the praise of any living individual, leaving their actions to speak for themselves, (except in one great exception, where it was impossible to view his actions without giving expression to the feelings they created,) I cannot keep back this notice of Sir James Baird and his light infantry, which is from a valued friend, whose talents, penetration, and personal knowledge of the circumstances, enabled him to form an accurate opinion. The Marquis of Montrose, Lord Dundee, Sir Robert Murray Keith, and Sir James Baird, Lowlanders born, and originally strangers to the character, customs, prejudices, and language of the Highlanders, had the address and talent to secure their affections, and to attempt and accomplish very daring and very remarkable exploits.

natural strength, covered on both sides with woods. Colonel Campbell formed his troops in line, and detached Sir James Baird with the light infantry through a narrow path, to get round the right flank of the enemy, while the corps, which had been Captain Cameron's, was sent round the left. The army remained drawn up in front, making demonstrations to attack. This so occupied the attention of the enemy, that they did not perceive the intentions of the flanking parties, till the signal was given that our troops had got to their ground. Colonel Campbell instantly advanced, when the enemy, seeing themselves surrounded, fled in the greatest confusion. The light infantry, closing in upon both flanks of the retreating enemy, they suffered exceedingly, upwards of 100 men being killed, and 500 wounded and prisoners, with a loss, on the part of the assailants, of only 4 soldiers killed and 5 wounded; thus easily did the British gain possession of the capital of Georgia, together with 45 pieces of cannon, shipping, and stores.

Anxious to follow up this favourable commencement, Colonel Campbell made immediate preparations to advance against Augusta, a considerable town in the interior of the province, 150 miles distant from Savannah. The enemy, not having recovered from the recent disaster, made no opposition, and the whole province quietly submitted. Colonel Campbell established himself in Augusta, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, with 200 men, to the frontiers of Georgia. During these proceedings, General Prevost had arrived at Savannah from Florida, and assumed the command. He ordered Augusta to be evacuated, and the boundaries occupied by the British to be narrowed. The Americans, emboldened by this retrograde movement, collected in great numbers, and hung on the rear of the British, cutting off stragglers, and frequently skirmishing with the rear guards. But although uniformly repulsed, this retreat dispirited the loyalists, and left them unprotected, and unable, and now, perhaps, unwilling to render assistance.

As General Prevost did not encourage the establishment of a provincial militia, the loyalists were left without arms or employment, and the disaffected formed bands and traversed the country without control. To keep these in check, inroads were made into the interior, and in this manner the winter months passed. Colonel Campbell, who had acted on a different system, obtained leave of absence and embarked for England, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland succeeding him in the command of the 71st regiment.

In the month of February 1779, the enemy collected a force of nearly 3,000 men at Brien Creek, for the purpose of cutting off the communication and checking the incursions of the foraging parties. This position was strong, and defended by upwards of 2,000 men. In front was a deep swamp, rendered passable only by a narrow causeway, and on each flank thick woods nearly impenetrable, except on the dryer parts of the swamps which intersected them, but the position was more open in the rear. Thus situated, the enemy were enabled to cause considerable annoyance; it was, therefore, determined to dislodge them. For this purpose, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macpherson, * with the first battalion of the Highlanders, was directed to march upon the front of the position; Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-Colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion of the Highlanders, the light infantry, and a detachment of provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of forty-nine miles. Notwithstanding this

* This gentleman was son of Macpherson of Clunie, the chief to whom his clan evinced such disinterested fidelity and affection in 1746, and the nine subsequent years. The castle of Clunie was burnt by the troops after the battle of Culloden. During the chief's long confinement in the cave, his lady fitted up an old malt-kiln as a kind of temporary residence. Here she was delivered of a son, who now commanded in this expedition. As the Highlanders always marked any extraordinary circumstance, whether personally or otherwise, by some name or phrase characteristic of the fact, Colonel Macpherson was called *Duncan of the Kiln.*

length of march through a difficult country, the movements were so well regulated, and so well adapted to the distance and the nature of the ground to be passed over, that in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of the causeway in front, Colonel Maitland's fire was heard in the rear, and Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, in "his usual manner," rushing through the openings in the swamps on the left flank, the enemy, unable to make any effectual resistance, were quickly overpowered; the loss of the Highlanders being only 5 soldiers killed, and 1 officer, and 12 rank and file, wounded.

This strong detachment being thus dislodged, General Lincoln collected a considerable force on the South Carolina side of the river. General Prevost, determined to attack this post, took the command of the troops, who had been so successful at Brien's Creek, and crossed the river ten miles below the position of the enemy. The two battalions of the 71st were directed to take a circuit of several miles, with a view of coming on the enemy's rear, while the general should advance on their front. They entered a woody swamp at 11 o'clock at night, and, guided by a party of Creek Indians, penetrated through, the water reaching to their shoulders in the deeper and softer parts of the swamps. In this condition, with their ammunition destroyed, they emerged from the woods at 8 o'clock in the morning, less than half a mile in rear of the enemy's position, and without waiting for the co-operation of General Prevost, who had not moved from his position ten miles below, the Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and drove the enemy from their position at the first charge, and this with such expedition that they suffered no loss, nor did the enemy, from their short stand and quick retreat, suffer much.

General Prevost being thus far successful, was encouraged to penetrate farther into the country, and, meeting with no opposition, he moved with such celerity upon Charlestown, and arrived before it so unexpectedly, that, if attacked before the garrison had time to recover from their sur-

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prise, it is probable that it would have been taken with little difficulty. The town was summoned to surrender, but time being allowed to consult, a dispatch arrived in the meantime from the American General Lincoln giving notice of his approach to its relief. General Prevost had no means to carry on a siege, and as the American force under Lincoln was stated to be greatly superior to his own, he thought it advisable to commence a retreat to his old quarters in Georgia under somewhat gloomy circumstances. He could not retrace his steps, the Americans being in arms, and the principal pass on the route being occupied. He was, therefore, under the necessity of attempting to return by the sea coast, a course which exposed the troops to much suffering, having to march through unfrequented woods, salt water marshes and swamps, and experiencing a consequent want of fresh water. Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, the Quartermaster-General, and a person of the name of Macgirt, * and a party under his orders, had gone on a foraging excursion, and were not returned from their operations; and as it was thought necessary that they should be protected, Colonel Maitland, with a battalion of Highlanders and some Hessians, was placed in a redoubt of hasty construction at Stono Ferry, an important pass, while the rest of the troops crossed over to John's Island. The communication had been kept up by a bridge of boats, but several of the boats having been removed by the Quartermaster-General, when he arrived with the fruits of his forage, the communication was interrupted. This separation of the British force was not to be neglected by the enemy, who had 5,000 men in the immediate neighbourhood. They, accordingly, pushed forward 2,000 men with the artillery.

* This man, with a band of followers, had accompanied the General from Florida, and from his character and marauding habits, was a very improper guard to the Quartermaster-General, to whom all the odium of the excesses and pillage of Macgirt and his band attached, and greatly increased the disaffection and irritation of the people.

When their advance was reported, Captain Colin Campbell,* with 4 officers and 56 men, were sent out to reconnoitre, and to act according to circumstances. A thick wood covered the approach of the enemy till they reached a clear field on which Captain Campbell's party stood. Disregarding this great inequality of numbers, and anxious to give time to those in the redoubt to prepare, he instantly attacked with such vivacity, that the enemy were obliged to form to defend themselves. A desperate resistance ensued; all the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Highlanders fell, seven soldiers only remaining on their legs. It was not intended that the resistance should be of this nature. But most of the party were men who had recently joined from prison, being some of those taken in Boston Harbour early in the war; and this being their first appearance before an enemy, they had not yet learned to retreat, and had not forgotten what they were always told in their native country, that to retreat was disgraceful. "When Captain Campbell fell, he desired such of his men as were able to make the best of their way to the redoubt; but they refused to obey; as it would bring lasting disgrace upon them all to leave their officers in the field, and none left to carry them back." However, the enemy, either struck with this unexpected check from so insignificant a force, or waiting till the main body came up, ceased firing. The seven men retired carrying their wounded officers along with them, accompanied by those of the soldiers who were able to walk. They were soon followed by the whole force of the enemy, determined to overpower those in the redoubts. In this they had in one part a partial success; the Hessians having got into confusion in the redoubt which they occupied, the enemy forced an entrance, but the 71st having driven back those who had attacked their redoubt, Colonel Maitland was enabled to detach two companies of the Highlanders to the

* This gallant officer was son of Campbell of Glendarule, in Argyleshire.

support of the Hessians. The enemy were instantly driven out of the redoubt at the point of the bayonet, and while they were preparing for another attempt to storm, the 2d battalion of the Highlanders came up, when the Americans, despairing of success, retreated at all points, leaving many men killed and wounded.

The resistance offered by Captain Campbell, though not intended, and contrary, perhaps, to common practice in such cases, was, notwithstanding, highly honourable to those who made this almost invincible stand, for no men need approach nearer to invincibility than those who fight against the most fearful odds, while life or the power of motion remains. This undaunted resistance also apparently saved the redoubt and those who defended it, for the time lost by the enemy in forcing their way through this little band of true soldiers, afforded time to their friends in the redoubt to prepare, and likewise to the 2d battalion in the island to march by the difficult and circuitous route left open for them.* Nor was the firm resistance of those within the redoubt (if their embankments, hastily thrown up without guns or any other strength, could be called a redoubt) less honourable, seeing that 520 Highlanders and 200 Hessians successfully resisted all the efforts of an enemy 5,000 strong, (except the momentary impression on the Hessian redoubt,)

* The destruction of the bridge of boats by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost was the cause of the delay in the support of the 2d battalion from the island, and, indeed, had nearly prevented their assistance entirely. Two temporary ferry-boats had been established, but the men who had charge of them being frightened by the firing, ran away and left the boats fixed on the wrong side. The enemy perceiving this from a height on the opposite side, opened a galling fire from their great guns on the men as they stood on the banks of the river, without a cannon to return a shot. Lieutenant Robert Campbell plunged into the water and swam across, followed by a few soldiers, returned with the boats, and thus enabled the battalion to cross over to the support of their friends. This brave and zealous officer was drowned some years afterwards in an attempt to save an old domestic who had fallen from a boat into the sea, in crossing from one of the islands in the Hebrides.

and this with a trifling loss in comparison of the service performed. The loss was 3 officers and 32 soldiers killed and wounded, while that of the enemy exceeded the total strength of those attacked.

The port at Stono Ferry being thus secured, and the Quartermaster-General having returned with his foraging party, it was evacuated, and Colonel Maitland retired to the island of Port Royal, where he was left with 700 men, while General Prevost, with the main body of the army, continued a difficult and harassing march to Savannah.

In this station General Prevost remained till the month of September 1779, when the Count D'Estaing arrived on the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two fifty gun ships, seven frigates, and a fleet of transports, with a body of troops on board for the avowed purpose of retaking Savannah. This town was still open, situated on a sandy plain gently inclining towards the south; the river Savannah was in front, low and swampy grounds on both flanks; the back of the town was protected by an albatis, in such a state of ruin, as to present little impediment to any enemy. The successful defence of the garrison, and their ultimate success, was to be calculated more from their energy and firmness than from their numbers, or the strength or capability of artificial protection. The garrison consisted of two companies of the 16th regiment, two of the 60th, one battalion of Highlanders, and one weak battalion of Hessians; in all about 1,100 effective men. The French and American force combined was said to be more than 12,000 men. With such a preponderance of force, and with no natural and very trifling artificial defences, the enemy, it was believed, would have attacked the moment they landed, but Count D'Estaing preferring regular approaches, summoned the town to surrender on capitulation. Time was demanded and granted, and, in the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port-Royal, this delay was of the utmost importance. The instant this officer was apprised of the appearance and intentions of the enemy, he

set out for Savannah; but the enemy having taken possession of the principal passes and fords on the creeks and swamps, he was obliged to take a circuit through morasses and woods unfrequented and hitherto supposed impassable. But all difficulties were overcome by the spirit and perseverance of this excellent officer and his detachment, always ready to execute his most arduous attempts. He arrived at Savannah at a most critical moment, when General Prevost was hesitating what answer to return to the summons of Count D'Estaing. The arrival of Colonel Maitland determined his answer, and immediate preparations were made for the most determined resistance. The zeal and talents of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the unremitting exertions and labour of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the negro population, completed a line of entrenchments with intervening redoubts, which covered the troops, and placed the town in a tolerable state of defence against an assault. This important object was completed in less time than the enemy required for their preparatory approaches. Such was the celerity with which the works were carried on and completed, that the French officers declared that the English engineer made his batteries spring up like mushrooms. Such being the zeal and energy in preparing for the defence, it may be imagined that the enemy were not permitted to carry on their advances unmolested; although General Prevost, owing to the weakness of his garrison, was averse to sorties. However, in the morning of the 24th of September, Major Colin Graham, with the light company of the 16th regiment, and the two Highland battalions, dashed out, attacked the enemy, drove them from their outworks, and then retired with the loss of Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st, and three privates killed, and 15 wounded, while the enemy lost 14 officers, and 145 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In the same manner Major Macarthur, with the picquets of the Highlanders, advanced on the enemy with such cau-

tion and address, that, after firing a few rounds, the French and Americans, mistaking their object, commenced a fire on each other, by which they lost 50 men; while, in the meantime, Major Macarthur retired silently without loss, leaving the combatants to discover their own mistake.

Irritated by these interruptions, impatient of the slow progress of the siege, and having his fleet riding in an open sea, exposed to an attack from the British, and in danger of being blown off the coast, D'Estaing determined on a general assault, in the hope of finishing the enterprise at one blow; and, confiding in the number and experience of his troops, he fixed on the 9th of October for making the attempt. This was done before day-light with the whole French and American force. Owing to a thick fog, it was still too dark to enable the garrison to ascertain from what point the principal attack was intended. However, they were not long in suspense; for the enemy were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing in person leading the right. The left column, taking too large a circuit, got entangled in a swamp, and, being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The others made the attack in the best manner; but the fire from the batteries was so well directed and effective, that the heads of the columns suffered exceedingly. Still they persevered; those in rear supplying the places of those who fell in front; and, pushing forward till they reached the first redoubt, the contest became desperate. Many entered the ditch, and even ascended and planted the colours on the parapet, where several were killed. Captain Tawse, of the 71st, who commanded the redoubt, plunged his sword into the first man who mounted, and was himself shot dead by the man who followed. Captain Archibald Campbell then assumed the command, and maintained his post till supported by the grenadiers of the 60th, when the enemy's column being attacked on both sides, was completely broken, and driven back with such expedition, that a detachment of the

71st, ordered by Colonel Maitland to hasten and assist those who were so hard pressed by superior numbers, could not overtake them. The other columns, seeing the discomfiture of their principal attack, retired without any farther attempt.

In this complete repulse and discomfiture of an important and apparently irresistible enterprise, was exemplified the ruinous consequences of hesitation and delay. Had D'Estaing attacked immediately on landing, before any defences had been raised, and before Colonel Maitland's detachment had joined, a weak garrison and open town could hardly be expected to make a successful resistance. General Prevost at Charlestown, and Count D'Estaing at Savannah, fell into similar errors, and were forced to retreat, when an immediate and resolute attack would, in all probability, have been crowned with complete success.

The loss of the enemy was estimated at 1,500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the garrison was 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 serjeants, and 32 soldiers, killed; and 2 captains, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 56 soldiers, wounded. The French and Americans kept possession of their lines till they withdrew their artillery and stores, when the latter retired towards South Carolina, and the former to their ships; and thus ended the attack on Savannah, which, from the state of the place and the force of the enemy, promised a very different result; but the talents of the officers, the firmness of the troops, and the excellent, though hastily constructed, defences, thrown up under the direction of the chief engineer, supplied the deficiency of numbers and strength of walls. The troops in Savannah were sickly before the place was attacked; but the soldiers seemed reanimated, and sickness in a manner suspended, during active operations. As usual in such cases, however, sickness returned with aggravated violence after the enemy had been repulsed, and all incitement ceased. Disease, which was increased by inactivity and lassitude after extreme exertion, fell with particular severity on the Highlanders. The

battalion under Colonel Maitland had not ten men sick in the march through the swamps, nor through the siege, but now one-fourth of their number was in hospital. *

While the battalion companies of the 71st regiment were thus employed in Georgia and Carolina, the grenadiers were at Stoney Point, in the state of New York, having a small detachment of the corps at the post of Verplanks, in the immediate neighbourhood. These two posts had been recently taken from the enemy, who were anxious to regain possession of them; and this service offering an opportunity to General Wayne of atoning for his recent disaster in allowing his post to be surprised by Sir Charles Grey, the execution of this duty was entrusted to him. A body of troops was accordingly placed under his command; and, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 15th of July 1779, he took post in a hollow, within two miles of the forts, and remained there unperceived till midnight, when he formed his men into two columns, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Stewart leading the advance. A gun-boat, which had been stationed to cover the principal approach, was absent that night, and the picquet being placed considerably to the right, one column gained the summit of the ground on which the fort stood before they were perceived. The troops being thus unprepared, made a feeble resistance, and

* One of the first who died, after the cessation of hostilities, was Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale. He was originally in the Marines, but as this service did not afford a sufficient field for his active and enterprising mind, he was transferred to the line, and appointed major to Fraser's Highlanders. His arrival at Savannah, at a most critical moment, inspired confidence in his friends, while it struck the enemy with surprise, as they did not expect he would be able to penetrate by a circuitous route, after they had secured the fords and passes. Colonel Maitland lived in the trenches with the soldiers, and, "by his courage, his kindness of heart, and affability to his men, he secured their affections and fidelity. His dialect was Scotch;—proceeding from a tongue which never spoke in disguise, it carried conviction to all. Equally brave, generous, and unassuming, his memory will be respected while manly fortitude, unstained honour, and military talents, are held in estimation."

surrendered with the loss of 19 soldiers killed, and 1 captain, 2 subalterns, and 72 soldiers, wounded. The principal part of this loss fell upon the picquet, commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, which resisted one of the columns till almost all the men of the picquet were either killed or wounded, Lieutenant Cumming being among the latter.

This misfortune was not attributed to any want of spirit in the troops. Unfortunately, many British officers undervalued the military talents of the enemy, which led to a want of vigilance, and a neglect of procuring proper intelligence; an object of primary importance in military operations, particularly on outposts in front of an enemy. It was an error of this nature that caused the loss of the Hessian post at Trenton in December 1776, which disaster produced a total change in the aspect of the war, and led to the most important results. The Hessian commanding officer, ignorant of the language, despising the Americans, and disregarding even the most common precautions, the enemy easily discovered the nature of his post, the disposition of his men, and their negligent manner of conducting the duty; and were thus encouraged to hazard an attack, the success of which gave them confidence in themselves, and lowered their respect and dread of their opponents, to a degree which they had never known before. This affair of Stoney Point operated in a similar manner.

I now return to Savannah, where the troops who had so bravely defended it remained in quarters during the winter months of 1779 and 1780, in expectation of the arrival of a force from New York sufficient to undertake the siege of Charlestown in the spring; which arrived, with Sir Henry Clinton at its head, in the month of March. The place was immediately invested, and the siege pushed with rigour. The defence was good, and the loss of the besiegers considerable. The commanding engineer, Captain Moncrieff, was indefatigable, and being fearless of danger in his own person, he was the less careful of the lives of

others. He had now served two years with the 71st, and "believing that he could not gratify a Highlander of that regiment more than by selecting him for honourable and dangerous service, he generally expressly applied for a party of the corps for all exposed duties." *

After the surrender of Charlestown, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to command the southern provinces. The 71st composed part of his force, and advanced with him into the interior. In the beginning of June the army reached Cambden, a central place fixed upon for the head-quarters. The enemy having assembled in force in the frontiers of the province in July, the British outposts were called in, and the whole collected and encamped in the neighbourhood of Cambden, the number of firelocks not exceeding 2,500, while the enemy, under General Gates, exceeded 7,000 men stationed at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles distant. The British general moved from Cambden at 12 o'clock on the night of the 15th of August, with an intention of surprising and attacking the enemy. The American general moved from his ground at the same hour, and with a similar view of attacking the British. The hostile armies met half way, before 3 o'clock in the morning. The moon was full, and the night without a cloud, when the advanced guards exchanged some shots, but both generals, ignorant of each other's force, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which they lay was a sandy plain with straggling trees, but a part of the ground on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army formed the line of battle. The light infantry of the Highlanders, and the Welsh Fusileers, were on the right; the 33d regiment, and the Volunteers of Ireland, occupied the centre; the Provincials were on the left, with the marshy ground in their front. While the army was thus forming, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland light companies on the right, placed himself

* Dr Jackson.

on the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and observing the enemy moving as with an intention of turning his flank, he leaped down, saying to himself, "I'll be damned if you do;" and calling to his men, "Remember you are light infantry; remember you are Highlanders:—charge."—The attack was rapid and irresistible, and being made before the enemy had completed the movement by which they were to surround the right of the British, they were broken and driven from the field, before the battle commenced in the other parts of the line. When it did commence it was well supported on both sides, the centre of the enemy gaining ground. There was a pause for some minutes, neither side firing or advancing, when Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open to their right and left, till a considerable space intervened; he then directed the Highlanders, "who began to be impatient at being left in the rear, while their friends were fighting in front," to move forward and occupy the vacant space. When this was done, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time." They instantly rushed forward; "the charge was like a torrent; the 33d and Volunteers of Ireland accompanied the Highlanders, the enemy was penetrated and completely overthrown." * But the British charge did not strike on the whole of the American line. The thickness of the smoke prevented distinct vision, and such parts of the enemy's line, particularly the right, as had not been acted on by the charge, continuing to advance, gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been originally placed as a reserve. Here they gave three cheers for victory; but the smoke clearing up, they quickly saw their mistake; and a party of the Highlanders turning upon them, the greater part threw down their arms, while the remainder fled in all directions. The victory was complete, and decided by the bayonet, a very decisive instrument in a firm hand. The loss of the British was 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, and 64 soldiers killed; 2 field officers,

* Letter from Dr Chisholm of Bristol, an eye-witness.

3 captains, 12 subalterns, 13 serjeants, and 213 soldiers, wounded. The Highlanders lost Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, and 8 soldiers, killed; and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, 2 serjeants, and 30 privates, wounded. *

The battle of the 16th of August was decisive as a victory, so far as related to the field of action; but General Sumpter, with a strong corps, occupied positions on the Catawba River, which commanded the road to Charlestown, and from which it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose, Colonel Tarleton was appointed to command the cavalry and a corps of light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st regiment. The heat was excessive; many of the horses had failed on the march, and not more than forty of the infantry were together in front, when, on the morning of the 18th, they came in sight of Fishing Creek, and saw a smoke at a short distance on their right. The serjeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward with caution to ascertain the cause of the smoke. In a few minutes he saw an encampment, with arms piled, and with few centinels, and no picquets. No persons were stirring except a few employed in cooking; the rest lay in groups apparently asleep, as if harassed by a long march. The serjeant reported what he had seen to Captain Campbell, who commanded in front, and as not a moment was to be lost, as a discovery of their situation might have led to serious consequences, Captain Campbell, with his usual promptitude, formed as many of the cavalry as had come up, and with the forty of the Highland light infantry, rushed forward, and directing their route to the piled arms, quick-

* In a letter from a respectable and intelligent eye-witness, the writer states, that there were many acts of individual prowess, the troops having several times closed on the enemy. "One will suffice. A tough stump of a Sutherland Highlander, of the name of Mackay, afterwards my own bat-man, entered the battle with his bayonet perfectly straight, but brought it out twisted like a corkscrew, and with his own hand had put to death seven of the enemy."

ly secured them and surprised the camp. The success was complete; a few men were killed; nearly 500 prisoners surrendered, and the rest dispersed in all directions. General Sumpter fled without his coat. Thus the object of the expedition was in a few minutes accomplished, (and before Colonel Tarleton came up,) and, had it not been for the death of Captain Campbell, with a trifling loss. He was killed by a random shot, "and counterbalanced the joy of so easy a victory; his death rendered his own men in a manner frantic, for he had secured the affections of those he commanded in a most singular degree."*

These partial successes were soon followed by a reverse. The Americans rallied, and threatened the frontiers of South Carolina, cut off Major Ferguson at King's Mountain, † and fought Colonel Tarleton at Blackstocks, and also at Cowpens.

In December 1780, the American general Morgan made

* Captain Campbell was son of Mr Campbell of Ardchattan. "He was a young man of promptitude and decision, and gave promise that he would be an honour to his profession and to his country."

† Major Ferguson was brother of Pitfour. He was appointed major to Fraser's Highlanders, but commanded a corps of Riflemen which bore his name. "He possessed original genius, was ardent and enthusiastic, and considered as visionary by the disciples of the mechanical school of war. By zeal, animation, and a liberal spirit, he gained the confidence of the mass of the people, and laid foundations on which the loyally disposed, who were numerous in the southern provinces, would have been organized and disciplined, and greatly outnumbered the disaffected. No man in that army was better calculated for such a task; his ardour was not to be checked by common difficulties. Directing the conduct of men unaccustomed to strict discipline; instead of commanding obedience, silence, and close attention to the routine of duty, he, with an address which none but a man who studies and applies the principle which regulates the actions of the human mind could be supposed to possess, led them step by step to accomplish the duties of experienced soldiers. At King's Mountain he was overpowered by numbers, and fought and fell like a Spartan." *

* Dr Jackson.

an inroad into South Carolina with about 1,100 men. Colonel Tarleton was detached to oppose him with the 7th or Fusileers, the first battalion of Fraser's Highlanders, (both weak in numbers,) a detachment of the British Legion, and 300 cavalry. On the morning of the 17th January 1781, intelligence was received that General Morgan was in front, with his force drawn up on a rising ground, thinly covered with pine trees; the front line being on the crown of the rising ground, and the second 400 paces in rear of the first line. The British were hastily formed: the Fusileers, the infantry of the Legion, and the light infantry, were in front; the Highlanders and cavalry formed the reserve. The line was ordered to advance rapidly, as soon as it was formed. Exhausted by running, it received the fire of the enemy at the distance of thirty or forty paces. The effect of the fire was considerable: it produced something like a recoil, but not to any extent. The fire was returned, but not with vivacity or impression; and it continued ten or twelve minutes in a state of balance, both parties keeping their ground. The light infantry made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. The action making no progress, the Highlanders were ordered up; and, rapidly advancing in charge, the enemy's front line moved off precipitately; and the second, which had as yet taken no share in the action, observing confusion and retrograding in their front, suddenly faced to the right, and inclined backwards; a manœuvre by which a space was left for the front line to retreat, without interfering with the ranks of those who were now to oppose the advance of the Highlanders, "who ran in, with characteristic eagerness, desirous to take advantage of the confusion which appeared among the enemy." But the confusion was only in the front line; for Colonel Howard, commanding the reserve, threw in a fire upon the 71st when within forty yards of the hostile force. The fire was destructive: nearly one-half of their number fell; and those who remained were so scattered, having run over a space of five hundred yards at full speed, that they

could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet, "the mode of attack in which their superiority lay." They were checked; but they did not fall back immediately, probably expecting that the first line and cavalry would push forward to their support. This did not happen; and, after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's reserve, the front line of the latter rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders, who now saw no prospect of support, while their own numbers were diminishing, and the enemy increasing. They began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy!!! This retreat struck a panic into those whom they left in the rear, and who fled in the greatest confusion: order and command were lost; the rout was general; few of the infantry escaped; and of the cavalry, who put their horses to full speed, not a man was taken.

The fate of the action was decided by the destructive fire of the Americans' second line. The Highlanders, when they were checked and repulsed, being five hundred paces in advance beyond the others, stood at some distance in the rear, after they retreated, and had formed into some compact order. If they had been supported, they might have made a soldier-like retreat, or taken a position till relieved by Lord Cornwallis's army. * The action of the Cowpens was serious, if not disastrous, in its consequences to the army,

* The panic seemed general. A party of the cavalry retreated with such expedition, that they lost their way, and encountered a party of the enemy's cavalry of nearly the same strength. Each party marched up at full trot, threatening mutual destruction. They drew up at the distance of ten paces, and dared each other to advance. Both were timid, and not a man moved. Cornet Paterson, of the 17th Light Dragoons, (a troop of which was attached to Tarleton's Legion,) coming up at that instant, and indignant at seeing such backwardness in British troops, penetrated the ranks, dashed at Colonel Washington, who commanded, and, in the act of making a stroke at him, was cut down by the Colonel's orderly serjeant. The enemy immediately retired; the British followed a few paces, but did no execution.

inasmuch as it inspired confidence into the enemy, and brought defeat and disgrace on our troops, who, in every other instance, had been victorious. The name of the officer who commanded had been connected with frequent victories, and his corps was particularly dreaded by the Americans. The affair of Cowpens converted this feeling into one of a very different description. To the Highlanders it was particularly unfortunate, as being the first instance of defeat. But, as they were the most advanced in the attack, and the last in the retreat, and as their conduct before and afterwards was unexceptionable, it may be presumed, that, if they had been properly led on and supported, they would have shown themselves at Cowpens the same as in all other actions. The troops who fought at Stono Ferry ought to have died in the field at Cowpens. In this affair, as in almost all defeats, the loss was considerable, in killed, wounded, and prisoners: it exceeded 400 men.

The dispositions made by the enemy on this occasion seem to have been judicious; and the conduct of Colonels Howard and Washington, in wheeling and manœuvring their corps, and in throwing in such destructive volleys on the Highlanders, would have been creditable to the most experienced veterans. The former success, which had uniformly attended the numerous enterprises of the commanding officer of the British, had given him a degree of confidence on the occasion in question which in a great measure led to the disaster which followed. The troops were hurried into action, without any previous examination of the ground, or of the disposition of the enemy; and so strong was the impression on the minds of the officers of the Highland regiment that the fault did not lie with their men, that they made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer. His Lordship complied with their request.

After this affair, increased exertions were made to follow the main body of the American army, under General Green, who retreated northward. All superfluous baggage was

destroyed; officers only reserving a few necessaries. The two battalions of the 71st, now much reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh Fusileers and 33d regiment. The country was so open, that there was no chance of forcing an action with the enemy; but much skirmishing took place on the march to Guildford Court House, where, on the 16th March, General Green, believing himself sufficiently strong to oppose his assailants, drew up his army in order of battle. This was done in three lines: the first occupied the edge of a wood, with a fence in front of Hogstie Farm; the second at some distance in the rear, in a wood of stunted oaks; the third was posted in the more open parts of the woods, and some cleared ground.

The British line was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders, and guards, under the Honourable General Leslie, on the right; and the Welsh Fusileers, 33d regiment, and second battalion of guards, under Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, on the left; the cavalry were in the rear, supported by the light infantry of the guards and the German Yagers. The attack commenced at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, maintained their position with confidence, and reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces. At this short distance, their fire was destructive to Colonel Webster's brigade, nearly one-third being killed or wounded. The brigade returned the fire, and rushed forward on the enemy, who abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The ground was level, but the wood was so thick and difficult, that, though the fire rolled in torrents, few were killed on either side. It was different on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d regiment met with more determined resistance, having retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. In the mean time, a party of the guards pressed on with eagerness, without observing a body of cavalry placed on the right flank

as a reserve, who charged them in flank, broke their line, and killed several men. The enemy, who had retreated, seeing the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. In this state, and while the Hessians were hotly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in rear of the left of the enemy, and, rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans, that they immediately fled, abandoning their guns and ammunition, without attempting farther resistance.

Thus ended the battle of Guildford, in which, from the intricacy and difficulty of the ground, and the closeness of the woods, which rendered the bayonets useless, the enemy appearing on one spot, and retreating from another, the different corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and, as the contest was carried on against an enemy greatly more numerous, the issue was for some time doubtful. But, although Lord Cornwallis gained the battle, General Green reaped the fruits. The British placed those who were badly wounded in a house in the neighbourhood, and left them and the country to the mercy of the enemy. The total loss of the British was 5 officers, 13 serjeants, and 75 soldiers, killed, and 22 officers, 15 serjeants, 5 drummers, and 369 rank and file, wounded. The Highlanders lost Ensign Grant, and 11 soldiers, killed; 4 serjeants, and 46 soldiers, wounded.

The British retired southward in the direction of Cross Creek, the Americans following close in the rear; but nothing of consequence occurred. Cross Creek, a settlement of emigrant Highlanders, had been remarkable for its loyalty from the commencement of the war, and they now offered to bring 1,500 men into the field, to be commanded by officers from the line, to find clothing and subsistence for themselves, and to perform all duties whether in front, flanks, or rear; and they required nothing but arms and ammunition. This very reasonable offer was not received, but a proposition was made to form them into what

was called a provincial corps of the line. This was declined by the emigrant Highlanders, and after a negotiation of twelve days, they retired to their settlements, and the army marched for Wilmington, where they expected to find supplies, of which they now stood in great need. *

* There was among these settlers a gentleman of the name of Macneil, who had been an officer in the Seven Years' War. He joined the army with several followers, but soon took his leave, having been rather sharply reprimanded for his treatment of a republican family. He was a man of tall stature, and commanding aspect, and moved, when he walked among his followers, with all the dignity of a chieftain of old. Retaining his loyalty, although offended with the reprimand, he offered to surprise the republican garrison, the governor, and council, assembled at Willisborough. He had three hundred followers, one-half of them old country Highlanders, the other half born in America, and the offspring of Highlanders. The enterprise was conducted with address, and the governor, council, and garrison, were secured without bloodshed, and immediately marched off for Wilmington, Macneil and his party travelling by night, and concealing themselves in swamps and woods by day. However, the country was alarmed, and a hostile force collected. He proceeded in zig-zag directions, for he had a perfect knowledge of the country, but without any provisions except what chance threw in his way. When he had advanced two-thirds of the route, he found the enemy occupying a pass which he must open by the sword, or perish in the swamps for want of food. At this time he had more prisoners to guard than followers. "He did not secure his prisoners by putting them to death;" but, leaving them under a guard of half of his force on whom he could least depend, he charged with the others sword in hand through the pass, and cleared it of the enemy, but was unfortunately killed from too great ardour in the pursuit. The enemy being dispersed, the party continued their march disconsolate for the loss of their leader; but their opponents again assembled in force, and the party were obliged to take refuge in the swamps, still retaining their prisoners. The British commander at Wilmington, hearing of Macneil's enterprise, marched out to his support, and kept firing cannon, in expectation the report would reach them in the swamps. The party heard the reports, and knowing that the Americans had no artillery, they ventured out of the swamps towards the quarter whence they heard the guns, and meeting with Major (afterwards Sir James) Craig, sent out to support them, they delivered over their prisoners half famished with hunger, and lodged them safely in Wilmington. Such partizans as these are invaluable in active warfare.

After a short delay at Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis resolved to penetrate to Petersborough, in Virginia, and to form a junction with Major-General Phillips, who had recently arrived there from New York with 3,000 men. And now the British had to traverse "several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, frequently deserted, and which did not afford one active or zealous friend; where no intelligence could be obtained, and where no communication could be established." On the 25th of May they reached Petersborough, where the united forces amounted to 6,000 men, and proceeded thence to Portsmouth, on the march to which, and when preparing to cross the river at St James' Island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of their full number, made a gallant attack with 2,000 men on Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade. Fayette was repulsed, but not without a smart resistance, the approach of night favouring his retreat.

After this skirmish Lord Cornwallis marched to Portsmouth, and thence to Yorktown, where a position was taken on the York river on the 22d of August. This encampment was formed on an elevated platform, nearly level, on the bank of the river, and of a sandy soil. A ravine of about forty feet in depth, and more than one hundred yards in breadth, extended from the river on the right of the position; a line of entrenchments, with a horn-work, formed the centre; and an extensive redoubt beyond the ravine on the right, and two smaller redoubts on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments, constituted the principal defences of the camp. These defences had not been completed when the enemy took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British camp. Previous to this period, they had received great reinforcements both by sea and land. The Count de Grasse had arrived with a strong fleet, having troops on board, and General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau had united their forces, amounting in all to 7,000 French, and 12,000 Americans. The troops in Yorktown were 5,950 men.

The enemy lost no time in commencing operations. Batteries were erected, and approaches made in the usual manner. During the first four days the fire was directed against the redoubt on the right, which was reduced to a heap of sand, but no storm was attempted, the enemy directing their whole force to the left, as the redoubts on that side were considered more assailable. A storm was attempted, the redoubts carried, and the guns turned on the other parts of the entrenchments. * The situation of the besieged was now very critical, the whole encampment was open to assault, and exposed to a constant and enfilading fire, and numbers were killed in carrying on the common duties. In this dilemma it occurred to the General to decamp at midnight with the *elite* of his army, to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded, the former being very numerous. The measure was bold, and might have succeeded, had it not been defeated by the accident of a violent squall of wind, which rendered the passage of the river dangerous, if not impracticable. The first division had embarked, and some boats had gained the opposite shore at Gloucester Point, when the storm commenced, and induced the General to countermand the enterprise, and to make immediate proposals of capitulation. The terms were drawn in the usual manner, and the troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the 8th October 1781, and were afterwards sent to different parts of the country.

The loss of the garrison was 6 officers, 13 serjeants, 4 drummers, and 133 rank and file, killed; 6 officers, 24 serjeants,

* One of these redoubts had been manned by some soldiers of the 71st. Although the defence of this redoubt was as good and well contested as that of the others, the regiment thought its honour so much implicated, that a petition was drawn up by the men, and carried by the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, to be permitted to retake it. There was no doubt of the success of the undertaking by men actuated by such a spirit, but as the retaking was not considered of importance in the present state of the siege, the proposition was not acceded to.

11 drummers, and 284 soldiers, wounded: the 71st lost Lieutenant Thomas Fraser and 9 soldiers killed; 3 drummers and 19 soldiers wounded.

And thus ended the military service of this army, which had marched and countermarched nearly two thousand miles in less than twelve months, in which they had had no regular supply of provisions, or of necessaries, had forded many large and rapid rivers, some of them in face of an enemy, had fought numerous skirmishes and two pitched battles, and in every skirmish and every battle, one affair only excepted, had been victorious; and yet such was the unfortunate issue of all their exertions, that no success, however gallantly achieved, led to the usual consequences of victory. On all occasions where Lord Cornwallis met General Green, the former gained the day, but afterwards retired and left the country open, surrendering the advantages usually resulting from a victory to the latter, whom he had beaten.

Fraser's Highlanders being now prisoners, and not exchanged till the conclusion of hostilities, they did not perform any other service. In what manner they discharged the duties on which they were called will be partly seen by the foregoing narrative. The numerous military details, and the consequent necessity of compression, prevented me from particularly noticing the moral conduct of these men. I may now, however, state shortly, that it was in every way equal to their military character. Disgraceful punishments were unknown. When men are religious, brave, moral, and humane, disgraceful punishments must be unnecessary. Such being the acknowledged character of these men, their honourable principles and loyalty were put to the test and proved. When prisoners, and when solicited by the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, not one individual broke the oath he had taken, or forgot his allegiance or fidelity, a virtue not generally observed on that occasion, for many soldiers joined the Americans, and sometimes, indeed, entered their service in a body.

On the conclusion of hostilities the men were released, ordered for Scotland, and discharged at Perth in 1783.

## SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT, OR LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS;

## NOW SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT, OR GLASGOW LIGHT INFANTRY.

### 1777.

It has often been remarked, that Highland soldiers do not show the same character, nor the same spirit, and even have a reluctance to serve under officers not of their own country. The correctness of this opinion has not, however, been established by facts, either in recent or more distant times. Some instances have indeed occurred where Highland regiments, and these too of the best and bravest, were nearly ruined, and their good name tarnished, by having the misfortune to be commanded by incompetent men, ignorant of their true character. Although the Highlander certainly prefers a commander of his own country, and especially of his own blood and kindred; yet men of gallant and generous spirits, of whatever nation, have always secured his attachment and fidelity. Of this we have instances in the case of Gustavus Adolphus and others. This great King and consummate general had attached to himself, as a body-guard, a strong corps of Highlanders, consisting of Mackays, Munros, Macdonalds, and other clans, who were devoted to him as to a superior being. "They were his right hand in battle, brought forward on all dangerous enterprises, and may, like himself, be said to have been almost all of them buried in the field of battle with the honours of war."

The heroic and generous Montrose, although the head of a border family, not always on friendly terms with the Highlanders, so completely commanded their confidence,

that, led by him, they believed themselves invincible. The Lord Viscount Dundee, also a Lowlander, attached the Highlanders to his person by his chivalry and courage; and while in the south he was detested for the perseverance with which he had endeavoured to keep down the conventicles, and puritanical principles of the Covenanters, by whom he was known only as "the Bloody Clavers;" in the Highlands, where there was no religious or political persecution, the people only saw in him a brave, conciliating, and able commander; regarding him as a gallant and high-spirited knight, signalised by his persevering and disinterested loyalty. Inspired by their confidence in him, they charged sword in hand at Killikrankie, and routed a veteran and disciplined army of four times their number, although those engaged under him had never drawn a sword against an enemy, unless in their own private feuds, which had not even then entirely ceased.—If we descend to later times, there are instances "where Highland corps have formed attachments to officers, not natives of their country, and not less ardent than to the chiefs of old; in as much as military heroism, wherever it presents itself, gives the Highlander the impression of what he has heard of his forefathers, and he cherishes and cleaves to it the more in a foreign land, as giving him the idea of his home and of his kindred." Hence we find, as I have noticed in speaking of Fraser's Highlanders, that the energy, ardour, and frankness of Sir James Baird, gave him as absolute a command over the fidelity of his Highlanders, (although he was himself a native of Mid-Lothian,) as was ever enjoyed by any chieftain or laird of more ancient times; so that, though "dashing at all things at the head of his company, he invariably achieved every enterprise in which he engaged."

In Macleod's Highlanders we have also an instance of disinterested attachment, and on an occasion, too, more trying than the severest battle. This was when both officers and soldiers were prisoners chained together, during three years, in dungeons, and fed on slow poison, for such was the

damaged provisions with which they were sparingly supplied. This happened when Captain David Baird, and Lieutenants Melville, Cuthbert, and the Honourable John Lindsay, with a detachment of the 73d Highlanders, were confined by Hyder Ali, after the disaster of Colonel Baillie, in September 1780. During their confinement they were treated with great cruelty, while every inducement was, at the same time, held out to the soldiers to desert and join Hyder's standard. These brave men, however, equally true to their religion and their allegiance, were so warmly attached to their officers, that they picked out the soundest and most wholesome parts of their provisions, and got them secretly put into the officers' mess. Whether it was from this circumstance, or from mere strength of constitution, the officers out-lived the confinement, although subjected in every other respect to the same privations as the men, of whom, out of 111, only 30 survived, and few were ever afterwards fit for service. The steadiness of principle, and incorruptible fidelity, of these soldiers on this occasion, are recorded by Mrs Grant. "A Highland regiment, commanded by Lord Macleod, was, during the war with Hyder Ali, engaged in an unfortunate rencounter, where more than 100 men fell into the hands of that remorseless tyrant. They were treated with the most cruel indignity, and fed upon very sparing proportions of unwholesome rice, which operated as slow poison, assisted by the burning heat of the sun by day, and the unwholesome dews of night, to which they were purposely exposed to shake their constancy. Daily some of their companions dropped before their eyes, and daily they were offered liberty and riches in exchange for this lingering torture, on condition of relinquishing their religion and taking the turban. Yet not one could be prevailed upon to purchase life on these terms. These Highlanders were entirely illiterate; scarce one of them could have told the name of any particular sect of Christians, and all the idea they had of the Mahomedan religion was, that it was adverse to their

own, and to what they had been taught by their fathers; and that, adopting it, they would renounce Him who had died, that they might live, and who loved them, and could support them in all their sufferings. The great outlines of their religion, the peculiar tenets which distinguish it from any other, were early and deeply impressed on their minds, and proved sufficient in the hour of trial.

"Rise, Muses, rise, add all your tuneful breath;
"These must not sleep in darkness and in death.

"It was not theirs to meet death in the field of honour, while the mind, wrought up with fervid eagerness, went forth in search of him. They saw his slow approach, and though sunk into languid debility, such as quenches the fire of mere temperament, they never once hesitated at the alternative set before them. Their fortitude should at least be applauded, though their faith, and the hopes that supported them, were not taken into the account. This well known, though neglected, instance of what may be expected from being accustomed from the cradle to self-command, and self-denial, affords an additional proof of the importance of preserving, unmixed and undebased, a race so fit to encounter those perils and labours, worse than death, which the defence of our wide extended empire requires."

It is well known that the last Earl of Cromarty engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, for which he was tried, and condemned to be beheaded on Tower Hill, while his title was attainted, and his estate forfeited to the Crown. Some favourable circumstances, however, induced George II. to grant him a pardon, on the condition of confining himself for life within the county of Devon. It is said, that the Countess of Cromarty presented a petition to the King, praying for her husband's life, accompanied by ten children, while her eldest son, Lord Macleod, was prisoner in the Tower, but not yet brought to trial, and herself eight months gone with the twelfth child. The family threw themselves on their knees before the King, and the mother, pointing to them, said, "These are your Majesty's humble petitioners for

the life of their father." His eldest son, Lord Macleod, had also joined the rebel standard, but on account of his youth, and the supposed influence of his father, he received an unconditional pardon. Deprived of rank and fortune in his native country, he crossed over to Sweden, where he entered into the army, and after serving for thirty years with distinguished approbation, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

Preserving, in exile, an immutable attachment to his native land, a principle so strong in all well disposed minds, he returned to England in 1777, and was very favourably received by his Majesty. Finding his influence in the Highlands still considerable, although deprived of all property and political influence, he was encouraged to offer his services to raise a regiment. The offer was accepted, and so well grounded were his anticipations of success, and such was the respect entertained for his family and name, that in a very short time 840 Highlanders were recruited and marched to Elgin. Here they were joined by 236 Lowlanders, raised by the Honourable Captains Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowlis, and other officers, along with 34 English and Irish who had been recruited in Glasgow. In all they amounted to 1,100 men, and under the name of Macleod's Highlanders were embodied, and inspected by General Skene, at Elgin, in the month of April 1778. They were an excellent, well principled, hardy body of men, and fit for any service. The same observation applies to the second battalion of this regiment, for which letters of service were granted immediately on the completion of the first. It was raised in the same manner, nearly with the same expedition, and in equal numbers; so that, in the course of a few months, Lord Macleod, from being an exile, found himself at the head of upwards of 2,200 of his countrymen, of whom nearly 1,800 were from that district and neighbourhood in which his family had once possessed so much influence. It is not in many countries that a man, without money or credit, except that of a long remembered and re-

spected name, could have thus attained an honourable command over such trusty and willing followers, and laid a foundation for future eminence and wealth.

The first battalion having been removed to Jersey, and from thence to Portsmouth, embarked there in January 1779, under the command of Lord Macleod, and arrived in Madras Roads on the 20th January 1780.

The second battalion having embarked at Fort George under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, landed at Plymouth, and sailed from thence for Gibraltar, where they landed on the 18th January 1780, two days before the first battalion arrived at Madras.

This battalion served in the garrison till the raising of the siege, and sustained a respectable character as steady and trust-worthy soldiers, of whom not a man was punished, or deserted to the enemy, although such attempts were but too common in the garrison. One of the soldiers, however, was threatened with punishment, as a false prophet, having declared that he had the second sight, (although it proved a false one,) by which, he foresaw the surrender of the fortress. However, the commander was too much of an enlightened soldier to fear or to punish such absurd predictions, and after a short confinement the poor fellow was released, with a caution not to utter any more of his dreams until the event he had foreseen should have been determined by the occurrence.

The casualties of the regiment were 30 privates killed; 7 serjeants, and 121 rank and file, wounded. Indeed, the loss of the garrison in killed during the whole of that celebrated siege, which continued more than three years, was inconsiderable, amounting only to 5 officers, 19 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 197 rank and file.

In May 1783 this battalion returned to England, and marched soon after to Stirling, where it was reduced in October, liberty being given to such of the officers as were regimentally senior in rank to join the first battalion in India.

I now return to the operations in that quarter. An army consisting of 5,209 men, of which 800 Highlanders constituted the only British troops, had been assembled in July 1780, at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, under Major-General Hector Munro. This force also included one battalion of the Company's European troops, and the grenadiers of another.

General Munro having gone to Madras to assist at the council, the command during his absence devolved on Lord Macleod. In the end of August the General returned, and assuming the command, marched for Conjeveram, where he arrived on the 29th, having taken with him only eight days rice. Colonel Baillie, with a detachment of nearly 3,000 men, was to form a junction with General Munro at Conjeveram. After various delays, Baillie, on the 6th of September, reached Perambaucum, fifteen miles distant from the General's position. He was here attacked by Tippoo Saib with a prodigious superiority of force, which, after a conflict of several hours, was repulsed. But notwithstanding this success, and although the detachments were so near as to be almost within hearing of each other's guns, no movement was made to form a junction; each party remaining stationary until the 8th, when Colonel Baillie wrote to the General, that, from the loss sustained in the late battle, to form a junction in the face of an enemy so superior in numbers, was beyond the power of his detachment. He therefore requested that the General would push forward with the main body of the army. The General did not comply with this request, but after a delay of three days, reinforced Baillie with the flank companies of the 73d Highlanders, under Captains David Baird and the Honourable John Lindsay, two companies of European grenadiers, and eleven companies of Seapoys, the whole being under the command of Colonel Fletcher. This officer's sagacity having led him to suspect the fidelity of his guides, who were in fact secretly in the pay of the Sultan, he followed

an unexpected route, and reached his destination without obstruction; Hyder and his son, with their united forces, being unable, from the circuitous route, to molest or intercept his small detachment. Fletcher's conduct on this occasion was considered by the European officers in Hyder's service as an able piece of generalship. It must, however, be matter of regret, that General Munro did not move with his whole force, and form a junction with Colonel Baillie by the same route, instead of weakening his strength by detaching the flower of his troops.

Each detachment remained stationary on the 9th. This inaction encouraged Hyder, who had previously dreaded that the General's intention was to place him between two fires. Enraged at the success of Fletcher's movement, he concentrated his army, and closed on the detachment under the command of Baillie, which did not exceed 3,700 men. On the evening of the 9th this officer commenced his march to join Munro, but had not proceeded above a mile when he fell in with the enemy's picquets. This brought on an irregular fire, which continued for several miles. He halted about midnight, nine miles distant from General Munro, and lay on his arms unmolested by the enemy. On the morning of the 10th he pursued his march, the enemy showing no inclination to attack till after he had proceeded two miles, and had entered a small jungle or grove in which the enemy had raised three batteries, one on each flank, and one in the centre. Having opened a heavy and destructive fire from fifty-seven pieces of cannon from the batteries and field-artillery, a desperate combat ensued. The enemy attacked in front, flank, and rear, but were foiled and driven back in every attempt; the detachment still gaining ground, but continuing in its progress exposed to every arm that a numerous host could bring against it. The march was in the form of a square, the sick, baggage, and ammunition, being in the centre. The action had continued three hours, when "Hyder determined to retreat; and a

rapid movement, which Baillie made from the centre, appeared to have decided the day. Orders were given to Colonel Lally to draw off his men, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat, when in that instant two explosions were perceived in the English line, which laid open one entire face of their column, destroyed their artillery, and threw the whole into irreparable confusion." * Being thus deprived of ammunition, the hopes and spirit of the enemy revived. Hyder's cavalry charged in separate squadrons, while bodies of infantry poured in volleys of musquetry ; but every charge and every attack was resisted with undiminished firmness, when, at last, reduced to little more than 400 men, a square was formed on a small eminence. Two-thirds of their number being killed or disabled, the officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, repelled thirteen charges ; and even the wounded, as they lay on the ground, attempted to raise themselves to receive the enemy on their bayonets. At length despairing of support from the General, (although so near, that the Pagoda of Conjeveram was in sight,) and fresh bodies of horse continually pouring in upon them, they were borne down by numbers without a man flinching or giving way, (many being trod under foot by the elephants and horse,) when Colonel Baillie, anxious to save the lives of the few brave men who had survived, held up a flag of truce as a token of surrender. After some delay the signal was acknowledged, and an intimation given that quarters would be allowed. But no sooner had the troops laid down their arms, than the enemy rushed forward, and, with a savage fury, attacked the defenceless, the wounded, and the sick. Many were saved by the humane exertions of the French officers. One of these officers, describing the battle, says, " Too great encomiums cannot be bestowed on the English commander and his troops, for, in the whole of this trying conflict, they preserved a coolness of manœuvre which would have done honour to any troops in the world. Raked by the fire of an immense artillery, the

* Journal of a French Officer.

greatest part of the action within grape shot distance, attacked on all sides by not less than 25,000 horse and thirty battalions of Seapoys, besides Hyder's European troops, the English column stood firm, and repulsed every charge with great slaughter; the horse driven back on the infantry, the right of our line began to give way, though composed of the best troops in the Mysore army."

This approval from an enemy was worthy of the occasion, and creditable to the liberality of those who bestowed it, * and may be regarded as an impartial testimony to the handful of troops who had so long maintained this prodigiously unequal contest; and who, but for the accidental loss of their ammunition, and the double disaster it inflicted, would, in all probability, haveultimately repulsed their savage foes. The humanity of the French officers displayed on this occasion is highly honourable to their character. But their exertions could not curb the cruelty of the ferocious conqueror, who, in a three years' captivity, inflicted on his prisoners a series of evils more terrible than death itself. Equally firm in the dungeon and in the field, the cruel and unprincipled Hyder found it as impossible to subdue their fortitude as to triumph over their courage. The evils of their long and bitter captivity were borne with such a spirit of firmness and self-possession, that the memory of the unfortunate sufferers cannot fail to be held in the highest respect and estimation. The loss sustained by the two

* I have pleasure in quoting the testimony of an eye-witness to the generous humanity displayed on this melancholy occasion by the French officers in the service of Hyder. "No pen," says the author of the Narrative of the Sufferings of the Officers, Soldiers, and Seapoys, who fell into the hands of Hyder Ali after the Battle of Conjeveram, September 10, 1780, and who was an officer in Colonel Baillie's detachment, and a participator of the kindness he describes,—"No pen can do justice to the humanity of these gentlemen, (the French officers,) without whose assistance many of our officers must have perished; but their merit will live for ever embalmed in the hearts of all who felt or witnessed their beneficence."

flank companies of Highlanders was Lieutenants Geddes Mackenzie and William Gunn, Volunteer Forbes, 3 serjeants, and 82 rank and file, killed; Captain David Baird, Lieutenants the Honourable John Lindsay, Philip Melville, Hugh Cuthbert, 4 serjeants, 4 drummers, 115 wounded and prisoners. Lieutenant Melville was totally disabled, the wounds of Captain Baird and Lieutenant Lindsay were severe, as were those of the greater part of the men, of whom only 23 escaped without wounds. *

After this disaster, Sir Hector Munro hastily retreated from Conjeveram to Chingleput, followed by the enemy's cavalry. On this march the Highlanders lost Captain Gilchrist, who, by previous sickness, was unable to command his company when ordered to reinforce Colonel Baillie. Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie also died.

After various movements, the 73d regiment, now reduced to 500 men, was in the field on the morning of the 1st of July 1781, with the army under Sir Eyre Coote, intended to attack the enemy at Porto Novo. The regiment was under the command of Colonel James Crawford. Lord Macleod had returned to England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro, more especially with regard to the movements previous to Colonel Baillie's disaster, and being probably dissatisfied with the subordinate command which he then held, when compared with his former rank in the Swedish service.

As has generally happened in Indian warfare, there was, at Porto Novo, a great disproportion between the force of

* The two commanders, Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, were mortally wounded. Colonel Baillie survived a short time, and the Journal of the French Officer says: "Hyder Ali has sullied his victory by the treatment of his prisoners. Colonel Baillie was stript, and brought before him, wounded in three places. Intoxicated with success, Hyder exulted over him with the imperious tone of a conqueror, which Baillie retorted with the true spirit of a soldier, and boldly appealed to Hyder's officers, if the victory was not his, but for an accident which no human foresight could prevent."

the enemy and that of the British. Hyder, at the head of an army of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, from 40,000 to 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock-men, peons, and polygars, with 47 pieces of cannon, was attacked by General Coote, whose force did not exceed 8,000, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. Sir Eyre Coote drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-General H. Munro, and the second by Major-General James Stuart. The two armies were divided by a plain, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on ground strengthened with more than usual skill, by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. The English General moved forward at nine o'clock, and after a lengthened action of eight hours, in some places well contested, and in which the enemy made full use of their numerous artillery, their whole line was forced to fly. It is worthy of remark, that success in this battle was greatly facilitated by one of those accidents common in war. After the repulse of the enemy's cavalry, and while the General was deliberating with his officers whether he should attack in front or in flank the chain of redoubts by which the enemy's position was strengthened, an officer, who was somewhat in advance, discovered a road cut through the sand hills at a place from which, in the event of an assault in front, they could annoy the right flank of the British line. This road Hyder had caused to be constructed on the preceding evening, with a view, while the British were warmly engaged in front, of falling on their flank; when his cavalry, taking advantage of the confusion that was calculated to ensue, might rush from behind the redoubts and annihilate their enemies. The British General instantly availed himself of this discovery, and filing off along Hyder's road, by a movement in flank forced him to forego nearly all the advantages of his position. General Coote saw the value of, and with promptitude turned to account this fortunate and important discovery, which had such an effect in determining the fortune of the day, and that with a loss that bore no propor-

tion to the importance of the victory, at a period when "the critical situation of our national concerns, and our falling interests, required uncommon exertions for their support."

The 73d was on the right of the first line, leading all the attacks to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by one of the pipers who always blew up his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the General, that he cried aloud, "Well done, my brave fellow, you shall have a pair of silver pipes for this." The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome pair of pipes was presented to the regiment, with an inscription in testimony of the General's esteem for their conduct and character.

I shall not pursue their subsequent movements through many harassing marches, during which their unskilful opponents lost many opportunities of attacking to great advantage. Both armies were, in the end of August, near Perambaucum, the spot where Hyder had been so successful the preceding year in defeating Colonel Baillie's detachment, and forcing General Munro to retreat. With a superstitious hope of similar success, Hyder was anxious to fight on the same field, and on the same day of the month. General Coote was equally anxious to engage, but indifferent as to time, being only desirous to meet his antagonist to advantage. Both armies were animated by very different motives: the Mysorian army by their superstitious anticipation of success, and the British by a desire to revenge the death of their friends, of whom they found many relics and marks of remembrance on the ground where they now stood.

On the morning of the 27th of August, Sir Eyre Coote moved forward to attack Hyder Ali, who had drawn up his army in order of battle on strong and advantageous ground, rendered more formidable by the nature of the country, which was intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The line of battle was formed under a heavy fire of cannon, which the troops sustained with firmness. The

battle was long and well sustained on both sides, and lasted from nine in the morning till sunset, when the enemy gave way at all points, leaving the British in possession of the field of battle and of all the strong posts. The loss of the British was upwards of 400 killed and wounded, of which number there were few Europeans. Major-General Stuart and Colonel Brown lost each a leg, carried away by the same shot.

General Munro having left the army for England, and General Stuart being disabled, Colonel Crawford became second in command; and Captain Shaw succeeded to the command of the 73d regiment, which continued in General Coote's army, sharing in all the marches, and being engaged in the battles of Sholungar, on the 27th September 1781, and of Arnee, on the 2d June 1782. In all these the regiment suffered little beyond the usual casualties, * and these were more by climate and fatigue than by the enemy.

In spring 1783, preparations were made to attack Cuddalore. This garrison had been recently strengthened by some European and African troops from the Isle of France. The British army had also been reinforced by the 23d light dragoons, the 101st, 102d, and 15th regiments of Hanoverian infantry, and 250 recruits from Scotland for the 73d and 78th regiments. General Stuart had recovered from his wound, and now took the command in absence of General Coote, upon whose death, in April 1783, he succeeded to the command in chief. Colonel Stuart of the 78th commanded the Highland brigade of Macleod's and Seaforth's regiments. Various delays so retarded the forward move-

* One of these casualties is thus mentioned in Munro's Narrative:— "I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Doune Mackay, a corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son to Robert Doune, the Bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry was held in such esteem. This son of the Bard had frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening."

ments, that it was not till the 6th of June that General Stuart placed his army within two miles of Cuddalore. Mons. Bussy commanded the garrison, and was indefatigable in his exertions to strengthen the works, by throwing up redoubts and lines of entrenchment in front of the place. No time, therefore, was to be lost, as every day added to the difficulties to be overcome, and as the enemy had already drawn a second line of entrenchments in rear of the first, fortifying the whole by fresh redoubts. On the morning of the 13th of June, an attack was determined on, which was to be directed to three several points at the same moment; and it was resolved to give the signal for a simultaneous assault by firing three guns from a hill. Amidst the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not recognised, and the attacks not made at the same instant, as had been projected. The enemy were, therefore, able to direct their whole force against each successive attack; in consequence of which, one of the divisions was driven back, and pursued by the enemy to a considerable distance, when Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, with the grenadiers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment," pushed forward, with much presence of mind, and took possession of the redoubts which the enemy had evacuated in the eagerness of the pursuit. This turned the fate of the day; and, although Colonel Stuart's party was forced to retire from the most advanced posts they had taken, they kept possession of the principal redoubt, enabled that part of the troops which had retired to recover themselves, and so revived the whole, that General Stuart was urged to advance and attempt to drive the enemy from the whole of their advanced posts. This he declined, in the belief that the enemy would retire of their own accord, which they accordingly did in the course of the night, withdrawing all their guns, except three, which were taken possession of by the British. On this occasion, "the precious remains of the 73d regiment" lost Captains Alexander Mackenzie, the Honourable

James Lindsay, * Lieutenants Simon Mackenzie, James Trail, 4 serjeants, and 80 rank and file, killed; Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, George Sutherland, 5 serjeants, and 107 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the enemy was 62 officers and 961 men killed, wounded, and missing.

On the 25th of June, Bussy having been reinforced by Admiral Suffrein, with 2,400 men from the fleet, made a vigorous sortie from the fort with his best troops. This was repulsed at every point, and the enemy driven back with great loss.

On the 1st of July, accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between France and England having reached their respective commanders in India, hostilities immediately ceased, and in a few days a friendly intercourse was established between the contending parties.

The army returned to St Thomas's Mount; and, at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace in March 1784, Captains Baird, the Honourable John Lindsay, and Lieutenants Melville and Cuthbert, with the survivors of the men (about thirty in number) who had been taken in Colonel Baillie's affair, were released, and joined their regiments. Captain (now General Sir David) Baird, and Colonel Lindsay, are the only survivors of the 200 men of the flank companies of the 73d regiment that accompanied Colonel Fletcher for the support of Colonel Baillie.

In the year 1785, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel

* This officer was of a family of soldiers. The late Earl of Balcarras had five sons in the army. The eldest, the present Earl, was in the 42d; and Colin, John, and David Lindsay, in the first and second battalion of Macleod's. The brave young man who fell this day gave great promise of talent and eminence in his profession. Being of a generous, open character, which captivated the soldiers, he secured their attachment by the gallantry with which he led them on on every occasion. The third brother, the Honourable Colin Lindsay, an accomplished officer, died lieutenant-colonel of the 46th regiment, and brigadier-general, in Grenada, in 1795. John retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment in 1807.

George Mackenzie, with several officers from the second battalion, disbanded the preceding year, joined the regiment. In 1786, they received new colours, and the number was changed to the 71st, in consequence of the arrangements which I have already noticed. From this time till the year 1790, detachments of recruits from Scotland, at different times, were received, which kept up the strength to 800 men; but the corps sustained a great loss in the death of the two brothers who had been so instrumental in raising both battalions. Colonel Mackenzie died in 1786, and was succeeded by Major Elphinstone; Captain Baird was appointed Major. Lord Macleod died in 1789, and the Honourable Major-General William Gordon was appointed Colonel.

War having commenced between Tippoo Saib and the East India Company in the year 1790, a large army was assembled at Trinchinopoly on the 24th of May, of which Major-General Meadows assumed the command. This force consisted of the 19th light dragoons, 36th, 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments, with 16 regiments of native cavalry and infantry. Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart commanded the right wing, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges the left: the two Highland regiments formed the second brigade. The 71st followed all the movements of the army in this campaign. The flank companies were employed under Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart on the attack on Dundegul; and, after the capture of that place, the regiment was marched, under the same officer, to the siege of Palacatcherry; and, in this manner, was in constant activity down to the close of the campaign, yet suffered little loss by the enemy.

Early in 1791, Lord Cornwallis joined the army as commander-in-chief. The whole was immediately put in motion, and, after various marches, encamped on the 5th of March close to Bangalore. On the 21st Lord Cornwallis finished his preparations for an assault of the place. This was accomplished with little loss. The flank companies of the army, including those of the 71st, led the attack.

These companies were commanded by the Honourable John Lindsay, and Captain James Robertson, now lieutenant-general.

On the 13th of April the forces of the Nizam, amounting nominally to 15,000, but in reality 10,000 cavalry, well mounted, joined the army, and on the 5th a detachment of European troops from the Carnatic also joined. The army, thus reinforced, commenced on the 4th of May a march on Seringapatam, and on the 13th came within sight of the enemy drawn up a few miles from the town, with their right resting on the river, and their left on the Carrighaut heights. On the following night the troops were put in motion with a view to surprise the enemy, but owing to the unfavourable state of the weather, almost impassable roads, and the exhausted state of the draught cattle, the troops were unable to accomplish their object in time. Next day, however, after great exertion and fatigue, the troops were brought into action, drove the enemy from a strong position, and forced them across the river into the island upon which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and 7 rank and file, killed; and Ensign Charles Stewart,* and 74 rank and file, wounded.

Notwithstanding this partial advantage, yet from the advanced state of the season, the impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of provisions, the incessant rains, and exhausted condition of the cattle, Lord Cornwallis found himself under the necessity of relinquishing the attempt. He, therefore, determined to retire to Bangalore, and wait a more favourable opportunity. This, as all forced retreats generally are, was harassing to the troops, who suffered much from the inclemency of the season, and the want of a proper supply of provisions.

A short time after the army had reached Bangalore, Major Gowdie was detached to attack Nundydroog, a granite

* Ensign Stewart died in Spain in 1800, lieutenant-colonel of the 50th regiment.

rock of great height, which had been fortified with such care, as to make regular approaches necessary. The rock was of great height, and inaccessible on every point except one, which was strengthened by a double line of ramparts; a third had been recently commenced, and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. The whole had every appearance of being impregnable. Yet Nundydroog, however high and steep, was still approachable, but not without immense fatigue and labour in dragging up guns, and constructing batteries on the face of a craggy precipice. At last, after fourteen days' labour, batteries were formed, and breaches were made; one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and another in the curtain of the outer wall. The inner wall could not be reached by the shot.

On the 18th of October, Lord Cornwallis, with his whole army, made a movement towards Nundydroog, and the same evening preparations were made for an assault. Both breaches were to be stormed. The night attack was to be led by Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, (now Paymaster of the 71st,) with twenty grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments on the right; and on the left by Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light infantry, and the two flank companies of the same regiment, under Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie, the whole being under the command of Captain James Robertson, supported by Captain Burns (now Major-General) with the grenadiers, and Captain Hartley with the light company of the 36th regiment; General Meadows, by his presence and animated example, exhilarating all. *

The assault commenced in a clear moonlight, on the morning of the 19th October. The preparations for resistance had been made with great care and labour. Great

* While all were waiting in silence for the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about *a mine*. "To be sure there is," said General Meadows, "but it is a mine of gold." This answer produced the proper effect.

masses of granite had been prepared, and preserved till the moment the troops should begin to ascend, when the stones were to be rolled down the rock, with an effect which, it was hoped, would prove irresistible. But, although the enemy were on the alert, the ardour and intrepidity of the assailants surmounted every obstacle; a lodgment was made within one hundred yards of the breach, the enemy were driven from the outward rocks, and so closely pushed as to prevent their barricading the gate of the inner rampart, which, after some delay, was forced, and the place carried with the loss only of thirty killed and wounded; principally from the stones tumbled down the rock. The loss fell entirely on the native troops; no British soldier was touched. Such are the consequences of a rapid and spirited advance.

The advantage of this mode of attack was soon afterwards proved in a still more remarkable instance. Lord Cornwallis, keeping in view the capture of the Sultan's capital, determined to attempt the possession of all the intermediate strong holds that might interrupt his communications. The most formidable of these, and, by general report, the strongest in Mysore, was Savendroog. This is another granite rock, considerably more elevated than Nundydroog, every where apparently inaccessible, separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on which were erected two citadels, independent of each other, and both well supplied with water. The place had been reconnoitred, and deemed inaccessible, but the success at Nundydroog, and other places, encouraged the English General to attempt adding this to the number; judging that, if successful in this, the strongest of all, the rest would easily be reduced. Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, who had been so often and so successfully employed, was selected for this duty. After the usual preparations and attempts to batter some of the outworks, the 21st of December was fixed upon for the assault. The flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments, and the 76th, were assembled under the com-

mand of Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the band of the 52d regiment playing "*Britons, Strike Home*," ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which, after the service was over, the men were afraid to descend. The eastern citadel was soon carried. This was followed by the surrender of the whole in succession, each part being deserted or surrendered when approached, and the fortress, so formidable in appearance, and indeed impregnable, if defended by a resolute enemy, was taken with the loss of only two men on the part of the assailants. Ootradroog, Rahngerry, Sevengerry, &c. all fell in the same manner, leaving our army no enemy but the climate.

In the month of January 1792, the army was again put in motion for Seringapatam, where the resistance made by the enemy showed a strange contrast to the timidity and feeble defence of their garrisons. Were an opinion to be formed from such examples, garrisons would be proved to be wholly useless; seeing that the troops enclosed in them offered little resistance, whereas in the open field, as in the ensuing action near Seringapatam, they made a most vigorous stand. The truth seems to be, that the very apparent strength and height of these rocks enfeebled the minds of their defenders, who saw no means of escape down their precipitous sides, should they be overpowered, and that nothing remained but destruction or immediate surrender. In the field, on the contrary, they knew that, if they were beaten, they had an open country in their rear; there was, therefore, the less danger in waiting the near approach of the enemy, from which they had thus the means of escape.

On the 5th of February Lord Cornwallis was again in sight of Seringapatam, and, on the evening of the 6th, the army was formed into three columns, the right column being under General Meadows, the centre under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart, and the Honourable John Knox, and the left under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's

left, and directing every effort towards the centre, to endeavour to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division. A part of this division under Colonel Stuart was directed to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and thence attempt the works on the island, while Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was ordered to force the works on Carighaut Hill, to descend, turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. These operations, if executed with success, would accomplish the complete overthrow of the enemy. The corps composing the centre were the 52d, 71st, and 74th Highland regiments; the right, the 36th and 76th; and the left, the 72d Highland regiment. The native troops were divided in proportion to each column. At eight o'clock in the evening the three columns were in motion. The head of the centre column, led by the flank companies of each regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam. Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, which he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon afterwards increased by the grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pittah, (or town,) but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers, that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, and those troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations, the batta-

lion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments, forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal Seapoys, was killed. * This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st at the moment that Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movement. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command of it was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st. The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the Commander-in-Chief changed the name from the Sultan's to Sibbald's Redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, being frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded a full and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Skelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The Sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt, distinguished by his own name, and directed the French European corps to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline. Repulses so complete and so repeated were a severe mortification to the Sultan, who seemed to rest

* I have often remarked upon the importance and advantage of confidence between officers and men, especially when that confidence is confirmed by attachment and respect; at the same time it is not without its disadvantages, as in the case of Captain Archdeacon, to whom his men were so attached, that their consternation at his fall, and their dread of the consequences of losing their leader, were such as to throw them into a degree of confusion which was not easily remedied.

as much on the possession of this post as if the fate of the day had depended upon it. But, having failed in all his attacks, he withdrew his troops, and retired within the garrison.

The loss on this occasion was 535 killed and wounded. The proportion of the 71st was Captain Sibbald, Lieutenant Baine, 2 serjeants, and 34 rank and file, killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, William Baillie, 3 serjeants, and 67 rank and file, wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 4,000 men, and 80 pieces of cannon.

On the 9th of February a final position was taken for the siege of Seringapatam, and immediate operations commenced. Major-General Robert Abercromby, with the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides several native regiments, joined the same day. On the 18th, Major Dalrymple, with the 71st, crossed the Cavary at 9 o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. This movement was intended as a cover to the opening of the trenches, which took place at the same moment, 800 yards from the garrison. During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, traverses were finished, and the advances carried on with spirit and energy. On the 22d a sharp conflict took place between part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby, and the enemy, which terminated in the defeat of the latter. This was the last attempt of the enemy, and the repulse being complete, it led to negotiations which ended in a cessation of hostilities. Thus terminated a war in which the East India Company and their allies had captured 70 forts or fortified places, and 800 pieces of cannon, and had obtained the cession of nearly one-half of the Sultan's dominions.

Sickness, which generally follows a succession of fatigues and active movements, began to appear, and no time was lost by the Commander-in-Chief in moving the army to their different destinations. The 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel David Baird, who had had the command of a brigade during the latter part of the campaign, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trichino-

poly. In this cantonment they continued till the breaking out of the war with France in 1793. In the month of August of that year the flank companies were also employed on the expedition against Ceylon, under Major-General James Stuart. On this occasion, which presented nothing worthy of notice in point of military service, Captain Gorrie was severely wounded, and 11 men were killed and wounded. The flank companies afterwards returned to the battalion, and in October 1797 orders were issued to draft all the soldiers fit for service (560 men) into the 73d and 74th regiments: those who had been disabled, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, embarked at Madras for England, and sailed on the 17th October. Colonel Baird was left at the Cape of Good Hope, where he was appointed brigadier-general. The fleet, after a tedious passage, and having touched at St Helena and Cork, entered the river Thames in August 1798, after which the 71st was removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly eighteen years from their native country.

Very few remained of the men who had originally formed the regiment. Of the original officers, the following were still in the regiment: Colonel Baird, Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, Majors the Honourable John Lindsay and James Robertson, Brevet Majors John Borthwick and W. C. Gorrie, and Captains David Ross, Hugh Cuthbert, Roderick and Hugh Mackenzie. Although so early diminished in numbers as to be called by their general, in their third campaign, the "precious remains of the brave Macleod Highlanders," they attained a character sufficient to entitle them to this honourable designation. General Coote, for some reason not explained, early in the war, recommended strongly that no more Highlanders should be sent to India. The opinion was probably founded on the sickly state in which the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment, and Macleod's and Seaforth's Highlanders, had reached India, and their inefficiency for sometime afterwards. But whatever might be the opinion of this able officer of the impropriety of ordering out more

men of the same description, he showed no want of confidence in those who were under his command. On the contrary, he always placed them in those situations in which the severest trials were expected. He generally kept close to this corps in every action, and it was observed that he was seldom stationary except on their ground. In all changes of position, and in every movement which he personally directed, whenever his personal attendance became necessary in a different part of the field, he was always on the move till he returned to the 73d. It was on one of these occasions that he so particularly noticed the animated manner in which the piper played, and the effect produced on the minds of the men by the sound of their native music. Previously to this he had no very favourable idea of this instrument, conceiving it an useless relic of the barbarous ages, and not in any manner calculated for disciplined troops. But the distinctness with which the shrill sounds pierced and made themselves heard through the noise of the battle, and the influence they seemed to excite, effected a total change in his opinion.

The regiment had been nearly two years in Scotland, when circumstances rendered necessary a change of designation, of garb, and of men. However, this necessity did not immediately exist, for although recruiting was slow during the eighteen months the head-quarters were at Stirling, yet when the regiment was removed to Ireland in June 1800, they received 600 volunteers from the Scotch Fencible regiments. The corps was thus augmented to 800 men, of whom 600 were Highlanders. In 1804 a second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton. When this battalion was removed to Glasgow, it was so successful in recruiting, under the command of Major Archibald Campbell, and gained so much the good will of the people, that it acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry," an occurrence which was the more noticed, because a certain class of the inhabitants of this populous city have seldom shown any partiality to the military.

However, it would appear that, in this instance, the partiality was marked. The consequence was a regular supply of recruits to fill up the ranks of the first battalion, which was soon to be employed on an expédition against the Cape of Good Hope, under their old commander, Major-General Sir David Baird. This battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis Pack, was now in a most efficient state, and consisted of an excellent body of men of good character, and in high health and discipline.

This armament, of whose proceedings a short account will appear under the head of the Sutherland Regiment, sailed from Cork on the 5th of August 1805, and reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th of January 1806. The casualties of the regiment on this occasion were 6 rank and file killed, and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, 2 serjeants, and 67 rank and file, wounded.

When the government and garrison of this conquest were settled, the naval and military commanders formed the bold resolution of attacking, with a force not much exceeding the strength of one full battalion, the great province of Buenos Ayres. This expedition was to be composed of the 71st, with a detachment from a foreign corps at the Cape, 200 men from the garrison of St Helena, and a detachment of artillery, all under the command of Major-General Beresford, and Commodore Sir Home Popham. The troops were embarked, and sailed on the 14th of April 1806, and receiving the expected reinforcement at St Helena, reached the Rio de la Plata on the 8th of June. The commanders having determined to attack Buenos Ayres in preference to Monte Video, passed the latter, and sailing up the river, anchored on the 24th opposite to the city. The following evening the troops landed without opposition; the marines of the fleet disembarked at the same time, making the combined force about 1,400 men. The enemy made no attempt to disturb them, and next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduction, where the enemy had taken a position on the brow of

an eminence, from whence they could count every man marching against them. The smallness of the force did not induce them to advance to the attack, or to make a resolute stand; for, on the advance of the 71st up the acclivity, they retreated, firing only a few shots, by which Captain Le Blanc, 1 serjeant, and 5 soldiers, were wounded. The enemy left 4 field-pieces on the ground, and took shelter in Buenos Ayres. Following up this first advantage, the passage of the Rio Chuelo was forced on the 27th after some skirmishing with the enemy, who, without farther resistance, surrendered the city by capitulation. But this easy capture was difficult to preserve. The Spaniards recovered from their first panic, and, encouraged by the insignificance of the force sent against them, began to collect in the neighbourhood about the beginning of August. The first body consisted of 1,500 men commanded by M. Pueyreddon. These were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St Helena, who took 10 pieces of artillery, with the loss of only a few men wounded.

The dispersed troops, however, soon collected, and, in a short time, they found themselves sufficiently strong to march against the city, and on the 10th of August commenced hostilities, by surprising and cutting off a serjeant's guard. On the 11th the town was abandoned by the British, who took shelter in the fort; but seeing no prospect of relief, and being cut off from all supplies of provision, they surrendered by capitulation the same evening. The officers were permitted to walk about on parole, and were quartered on the inhabitants; the men were confined, but were all treated with the usual generosity of the old Spanish character. This treatment continued till the landing of Sir Samuel Achmutty's expedition at Monte Video. That event, as might be expected, occasioned more severe restrictions. The officers and soldiers were removed into the interior, where they remained until the landing of General White-

lock's army, on whose capitulation they were restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England.

The loss of the 71st in the attack which preceded their surrender was Lieutenant Mitchell and Ensign Lucas, killed, and 91 non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed and wounded. The regiment did not lose many men by sickness, but 35 men deserted and joined the Spaniards while they were prisoners up the country, exhibiting a very disgraceful contrast to the conduct of their brave and better principled predecessors, of the original stock of the corps, under much more trying circumstances, in the dungeons of Hyder Ali.

The regiment landed in Ireland, and marched to Middleton, and afterwards to Cork, where they were joined by a reinforcement of 200 good men from the 2d battalion, thus augmenting their number to 920 effective men; and on the 21st of April 1808, they received new colours instead of those surrendered at Buenos Ayres. They were delivered to the regiment with an animated address by General Floyd, who had frequently witnessed their gallantry and good conduct in India. *

* This respectable veteran concluded his address to the regiment thus: "You now stand on this parade, in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion. † You are endeared to the army, and to your country. You ensure the esteem of all true soldiers, and all good men.

"It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories of the 71st regiment in the field, and it is with great satisfaction I now meet you again with replenished ranks, arms in your hands, and stout hearts in your bosoms. Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours, and the acquirement of fresh fame. Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave men committed to your charge. Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers;—they have shared with you the chances of war;—they have bled along with you. Preserve your regiment's reputation in the field, early and gloriously gained, and be, like them, regular in quarters.

"I present the Royal Colours.—This is the King's Standard. I now present your Regimental Colours.—May honour and victory ever attend you!"

† Alluding to their conduct, in contrast to those who deserted to the Spaniards.

The regiment had an early opportunity of proving that they were good representatives and successors of "the precious remains of Macleod's brave Highlanders," and that the General's address was not thrown away on men who were either regardless or undeserving. In July, they formed a part of the force embarked at Cork for Portugal, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The fleet sailed on the 13th, having on board the 5th, 9th, 36th, 38th, 40th, 45th, 60th, (5th battalion,) 71st, 91st, 95th, 4th veteran battalion, and 20th light dragoons, with Major-Generals Rowland Hill and Ronald C. Ferguson, and Brigadier-General J. C. Crawford, in all about 10,000 men. After some delay the troops landed, early in August, in Mondego Bay. In a few days 5,000 men from Gibraltar, under Major-General Brent Spencer, joined the army. On the 9th, General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon, and on the 11th he was joined by 6,000 Portuguese, who were, however, unable to proceed, being unprovided with provisions and military equipments. The French, under General Laborde, amounting to more than 5,000 men, retired as the British General advanced. On the 14th he reached Caldas, pushing forward 4 companies of the 60th and rifle corps, to occupy the village of Brilos, in possession of the enemy, drove them from it, and thus in a rencontre of advanced posts, commenced a series of battles and operations unexampled in British warfare since the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, "who never lost a battle, who never was forced to raise a siege, and who never failed in any negotiation he attempted." It was unexampled also in the opportunity it afforded the British army of acting on an extended and continuous scale of important movements, and in giving scope for the full exertion of the talents of the General and his officers, and for the courage and firmness of his soldiers. On no occasion, since Queen Anne's successful wars, had the soldiers of Britain such a field of exertion laid open; and to what extent they

supported the honour of their country will be seen in a succession of six years' campaigns, (with the short interval subsequent to the Convention of Cintra,) commencing at Brilos in Portugal in 1808, and ending on the heights of Toulouse in 1814. Success was sometimes succeeded by reverses, but reverses so quickly repaired, that the army returned again to the charge, with renovated vigour and force, as if the checkor retreat had only been a suspension of fatigue, for refreshment or to receive reinforcements.

In the affair of Brilos, the impetuosity of the troops, not yet tempered by experience, led them too far; and Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the rifle corps were killed; and thus this young officer and his soldiers had the honour of being the first who fell in this memorable war. Many valuable lives have been lost, but the sacrifice will not be considered too great when we reflect upon the importance of the object, both to the military renown and the strength of the country. A generation will supply the loss of men, which will soon be forgotten, but not so the honour of our country and the glory of our arms.

On the advance from Brilos, on the 17th, the enemy were seen in position on the heights of Roleia, commanding the road which the British must pass. These heights appeared from below almost inaccessible. They were steep and covered with brushwood, such as is common in Portugal, with only a narrow path leading to the summit, which was occupied by 5,000 men. This was a formidable position, but General Wellesley, trusting to the courage of his troops, and with that firm and prompt decision, which he afterwards exhibited in such perfection on so many great occasions, resolved to attack instantly, judging that, should he drive the enemy from a position, chosen by themselves as the most defensible, their confidence would be lowered by the defeat, while, in the same proportion, that of his own troops would be confirmed by success, against such natural and apparently insurmountable obstructions. The attack was made, and the enemy driven from his position,

after a gallant resistance, and several sharp charges on those brigades who first mounted the hill, the face of which was completely exposed to the fire of the French, but without effect, as they were forced to retreat at all points. The weight of the action fell upon the 5th, 9th, and 29th regiments, the riflemen of the 60th and 95th, and the flank companies of General Hill's brigade.

The 71st was not engaged, but on the 21st at Vimiera, being then in Major-General R. Ferguson's brigade, with the 36th and 40th, the regiment was actively and conspicuously occupied, fulfilling amply the expectation formed of them by General Floyd when he presented the colours a few months before. They were also present when, in the advance of "Major-General Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers killed and wounded. In this battle, although not more than one-half of the British army was engaged, and although the enemy was much superior both in cavalry and artillery, he sustained a signal defeat."*

Such was the auspicious commencement of the Peninsular campaigns, in the whole of which the 71st shared. In every action where it was particularly engaged, or called upon to meet the enemy, its conduct was uniformly praiseworthy. As, however, the number of Scotch and Highlanders in it was about this time reduced to 560, and, as it seems all hopes of recruiting its ranks from the population that had formerly filled them were given up, this regiment now assumed a new designation, and took a new uniform. It ceases, accordingly, to come within the range of my plan, and I resign the task with the more regret, when I reflect on the reasons assigned for the change,—that a supply of men cannot be obtained from the Highlands. There must have happened a melancholy revolution since the days when Lord Macleod the exile, without fortune, but not without friends, found himself possessed of a more enviable influ-

* General Wellesley's Dispatches.

ence than that of wealth,—the influence which proceeds from personal respect and disinterested attachment.

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## THE SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT,

## OR

## ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS.

### 1778.

In the month of December 1777, letters of service were granted to Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck to raise a regiment in Argyleshire. This officer, who had served as captain and major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War, was now appointed to superintend the recruiting of this corps, with power to select and recommend such officers as were most likely to be successful in procuring men.

I have already mentioned that the county of Argyle includes so many islands, and on the main land is so intersected by long and wide arms of the sea, that the people, contrary to the disposition of other Highlanders, are more inclined to the naval than to the land service. Accordingly, in this regiment, there were a greater number of Lowlanders than in any other of the same description raised at this period. But although, from local circumstances, the lower orders of Argyleshire are less inclined to the land service, this is far from being the case with the gentlemen of the county. On the present occasion, all the officers except four were Highlanders, while of the soldiers only 590 were of the same country, the others being from Glasgow, and the western districts of Scotland. The name of Campbell, as might be expected in an Argyleshire regiment, mustered

strong; the three field-officers, six captains, and fourteen subalterns, being of that name. *

The regiment, mustering 960, rank and file, was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene, in the month of May 1778. They embarked at Greenock in August, and landed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, where they remained garrisoned with the 80th, or Edinburgh, and the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment; the whole being under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Maclean.

In spring 1779, the flank companies in garrison at Halifax were ordered to head-quarters at New York, the grenadier company of the 74th being commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the light company by Captain Campbell of Bulnabie. They joined the army immediately before the siege of Charlestown.

In June of the same year, the battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General Maclean, embarked from Halifax, and took possession of Penobscot, with the intention of establishing a post there. The brigadier had not completed his defences, when a hostile fleet from Boston, commanded by Commodore Saltonstat, with 2,500 troops on board, under Brigadier-General Lovel, appeared in the bay. This force effected a landing, on the 28th of July, on the peninsula where the fort was building, and immediately proceeded to erect batteries for a regular siege. These operations were

* Among the officers was the chief of the Macquarries. This gentleman was sixty-two years of age when he entered the army in 1778. Although so far advanced in life, he was healthy, active, and perfectly capable of executing any duty of his new profession. He died in 1817, in his 102d year, the last of a long line, which, although possessing but a small property, and surrounded by the powerful chiefs of the Macdonalds of the Isles, Macleans, Campbells, &c., had preserved itself entire, and in uninterrupted succession, for a period of nearly 600 years. The chief of Macquarrie of the fourteenth century was particularly distinguished under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn. The last of this race was obliged to dispose of his property, which was the cause of his entering the army at so late a period of life; and dying without male issue, the direct line became extinct

frequently interrupted by parties from the fort. General Maclean exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen his position. Being well supported by his troops, he kept the enemy in check, and preserved his communication with the shipping, which they attempted to cut off. In this manner, much skirmishing ensued, but with no important result, till the morning of the 13th of August, when Commodore Sir George Collier appeared in the bay, with a fleet intended for the relief of the post. This accession of strength disconcerting the enemy, and completely destroying their hopes, they quickly decamped, and retired to their ships; but, being unable to re-embark all the troops, those who remained, along with the sailors of several vessels which had run aground in their hurry to escape, formed themselves into a body, and endeavoured to penetrate through the woods. In the course of this attempt, they ran short of provisions, quarrelled among themselves, and, coming to blows, fired on each other till their ammunition was expended. Upwards of sixty men were killed andwounded; the rest dispersed in the woods, numbers perishing before they could reach an inhabited country. The object of the expedition was thus completely frustrated.

The conduct of General Maclean and his troops met with high approbation; and in his dispatch, giving an account of the attack and defeat of the enemy, he particularly noticed the exertions and zeal of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of the 74th, and Lieutenant Crawford of the 82d regiments. The loss of the garrison was 2 serjeants and 23 privates killed, and two lieutenants, 3 serjeants, and 29 privates, wounded. The loss of the 74th was 2 serjeants, and 14 privates, killed, and 17 rank and file wounded.

General Maclean, with the detachment of the 82d, returned to Halifax, and left Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of Monzie, with the 74th, at Penobscot, where they remained till the peace. On this occurrence, they embarked for Eng-

land, and landed at Portsmouth, whence they were marched for Stirling, and reduced in the autumn of 1783; the flank companies, who had been detached, having previously joined them.

## SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT,

## OR

## MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS.

### 1778.

In December 1777, letters of service were issued to Lord Macdonald to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles, allowing him the same military rank as the Earl of Seaforth and Lord Macleod, by whose influence so many men had been added to the military strength of the country. In such cases, gentlemen had been promoted to high rank in the army, without going through the previous gradations. As Lord Macdonald declined this rank, he recommended Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry, who was accordingly appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. But although his Lordship had no military rank, his influence was extensively and successfully exerted to complete the regiment; and, having made a good selection of officers from the families of Macdonalds of Glenco, Morrar, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of others, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, &c., 750 Highlanders were raised. The company of Captain Bruce was principally raised in Ireland. Captains Cunningham of Craigend, and Montgomery Cunningham, as well as Lieutenant Samuel Graham, raised their men in the low country. These amounted to nearly 200 men, and

were kept together in two companies; while Captain Bruce's company formed a third. In this manner, each race were kept distinct. The whole amounted to 1,086 men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers, and were inspected, and reported complete, by Lieutenant-General Skene at Inverness, in March 1778, and immediately afterwards removed to Fort George, under the command of Major Donaldson.

The regiment remained twelve months in Fort George, under the guidance of Major Donaldson, an officer admirably calculated to command and train a body of young Highlanders. Being a native of the country, and having served for nineteen years as adjutant and captain in the 42d regiment, he had a full knowledge of their character and habits.

In March 1779, the corps was removed to Perth, and reviewed there on the 10th by General Skene. Being complete in number, and in a high state of discipline, they were marched to Burntisland, where they embarked on the 17th of March. In this place the men evinced an unmilitary spirit, owing to some complaints relative to a non-payment of bounty and arrears of pay. The particulars of this transaction will be found in the Appendix.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on the passage home from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, and Major Donaldson's state of health being such as not to allow him to embark, the command devolved on Major Lord Berridale, who accompanied the regiment to New York, where they landed in August.

The regiment touched at Portsmouth. While they lay at Spithead, the enemy made an attack on Jersey; in consequence of which, the transports, with the 76th on board, were ordered to the relief of that island. When they were on the passage, Lord Berridale gave orders that the men should not take their broadswords on shore, and that the officers should not land in the Highland dress, but directed, however, that the orders should not be disclosed to the men

till the moment at which they were to land, influenced, probably, by an apprehension of their not wishing to part with their swords; but the officers were verbally told of the commanding officer's wishes. During the night on which they approached the island, the men did not sleep, but were busily engaged in preparing for the landing. Their swords seemed the objects of their particular attention, as they devoted most of their time to sharpening and putting them in the best possible order. Next morning, some of the officers appeared in the Highland dress, and all the men with their broad swords. When they were informed of the orders, they said that it might be so, but they hoped that, God willing, they would be allowed to fight with the arms, and die in the dress, of their country and of their forefathers.

But the French being repulsed before the regiment reached Jersey, they returned to Portsmouth, and proceeded on their voyage to America. On their arrival there the flank companies were attached to the battalion of that description. The battalion companies remained between New York and Staten Island till February 1781, when they embarked with a detachment of the army, commanded by Major-General Phillips, for Virginia; the light company being in the second battalion of light infantry, it formed a part of this army; the grenadiers remained at New York.

This year, Major Lord Berridale, on the decease of his father, became Earl of Caithness, and accompanied the army, as a volunteer, to Charlestown, was severely wounded at the siege of that place, and soon after returned to Scotland. The command of the regiment devolved on the Honourable Major (now Lieutenant-General) Needham, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

The detachment landed at Portsmouth, in Virginia, in March, and joined the troops under Brigadier-General Arnold. In May they formed a junction with the army under Lord Cornwallis. When the soldiers of the 76th regiment found themselves with an army which had been en-

gaged in the most incessant and fatiguing marches through difficult and hostile countries, they appeared to look down upon themselves as having done nothing which could signalize and enable them to return to their country and friends with that reputation which their countrymen, and brother soldiers, had acquired. "And they were often heard murmuring among themselves, lamenting their lot, and expressing the strongest desire to distinguish themselves. This was particularly observable, and their regrets greatly heightened when visited by the men of Fraser's Highlanders, who had been in so many actions to the southward." However, they soon had the opportunity which they had so much desired, and the spirit with which they availed themselves of it, showed that no more was wanting to prove that they were good and brave soldiers. On this occasion they were fortunate in being in the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, whose spirited example would have animated any soldier; but in this instance no excitement was necessary. On the evening of the 6th of July, the Marquis de la Fayette, eager to signalize himself in the cause of his new friends, and ignorant of the full strength of those he was about to attack, pushed forward a strong corps, forced the picquets, who made an admirable resistance, and drew up in front of the British line. *

A smart engagement immediately ensued, the weight of

* The picquets in front of the army that morning consisted of twenty men of the 76th, and ten of the 80th, commanded by Lieutenant Balvaird of the latter regiment. He was killed by the first fire, and another officer also on this duty was mortally wounded. When the attack on the picquets commenced, Colonel Dundas ordered Lieutenant and Adjutant Wemyss to reinforce them with fifteen men of the Highlanders. On marching forward, he found the party without an officer, and therefore remained and defended the post till himself and every individual were either killed or wounded. When Lieutenant Wemyss was appointed Adjutant, he found the want of the Gaelic language a great disadvantage, as more than 500 of the Highlanders spoke no English. By frequent communication with the men, and by application on his part, he acquired the language, and allowing for some slight peculiarities of accent, spoke it nearly as well as a native.

which was sustained by the left of Colonel Dundas's brigade, consisting of the 76th and 80th, both young regiments, and it so happened that, while the right of the line was covered with woods, they were drawn up in an open field, and exposed to the attack of La Fayette with a chosen body of troops. "They made their *debût* in a very gallant style: The 76th being on the left, and Lord Cornwallis, coming up in rear of the regiment, gave the word to charge, which was immediately repeated by the Highlanders, who rushed forward with their usual impetuosity, and decided the matter in an instant." The enemy were completely routed, leaving their cannon, and three hundred men killed and wounded, behind them. The conduct of Colonel Dundas and his brigade was noticed with great approbation, and it was also remarked that the Americans, on this occasion, exhibited more than usual bravery and skill under their gallant French commander.

Soon after this affair Lord Cornwallis, wishing to throw forward an effective body of infantry to act with the cavalry, ordered a detachment of 400 chosen men, from the 76th, to be mounted on such horses as could be procured. Horses were soon found, but saddles and bridles were more difficult to be had. The whole were, however, mounted (although four-fifths of the men had never been on horseback before) and marched forward with Tarleton's Legion. As the horses were intended only for expedition, the Highland dragoons were to dismount when in presence of the enemy. After several forced marches, far more fatiguing to these men than any they ever performed on foot, they returned to the army heartily tired of their new mode of travelling. No other service was destined for the 76th until the siege and surrender of Yorktown in 1781, which has already been shortly noticed in the article on Fraser's Highlanders. *

* While the officers of the 76th were sitting at dinner during the siege, the enemy opened a new battery, the first shot from which entering the mess-room, killed Lieutenant Robertson on the spot, and wounded Lieutenant Shaw and Quartermaster Barclay. It also struck

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army, the kindness and attention of the French officers were most honourable. "Their delicate sensibility of our situation, and their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, have really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war shall put any of them into our power." *

After this unhappy surrender, the 76th was marched in detachments, as prisoners, to different parts of Virginia, where they met with many of their emigrant countrymen, by whom, as well as by the Americans, every endeavour was used, and many tempting offers made, to prevail on the soldiers to break their allegiance and become subjects of the American government. Yet not a single Highlander allowed himself to be seduced, by these offers, from the duty which he had engaged to discharge to his King and country. †

They were afterwards embarked for New York, sailed thence for Scotland, and were disbanded in March 1784 at Stirling Castle.

If, owing to accidental circumstances, the services of this respectable regiment were not so brilliant as those of others who had more frequent rencounters with the enemy, yet, from their physical strength, character, and general conduct, the men certainly exhibited the necessary qualifications for any military service. Their courage in the field was only once put to the proof, and we have seen how it was displayed. Their conduct in quarters stood a trial of

Assistant Commissary-General Parkins, who happened to dine there that day. He requested that his Will, which was in his quarters, but not signed, should be instantly sent for. This was accordingly done, and when it was brought to him, he had sufficient strength to put his hand to it, and to request some of the officers present to sign as witnesses, when he expired.

* Lord Cornwallis's Dispatch.

† This is certified by officers who were also prisoners, and eye-witnesses of this honourable regard to principle.

six years, and during that period, there were only four instances of corporal punishments inflicted on the Highlanders of the regiment, amounting to more than 750 men, and perhaps it may be a matter of extenuation; in a moral point of view, to add, that these were for military offences. Thefts and other crimes, implying moral turpitude, were totally unknown.

It is grateful to the feelings thus to find a numerous body of men preserving their virtuous principles entire, and that, too, in a profession supposed to be destructive of such habits, and in which, indeed, depravity and dissipation sometimes prevail to such a degree, that the severest punishments alone can curb them. Among these honourable soldiers, any restrictions or coercion of a more severe nature were seldom called for, beyond that which a father would exercise towards his children; such as a temporary privation of some comfort, the prohibition of some favourite amusement, or the mention of the shame their misconduct would bring on themselves, as well as on their country, their relations, and friends.

## ATHOLL HIGHLANDERS,

## OR

## SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

### 1778.

THE influence possessed by the family of Atholl in the Highlands of Perthshire has been noticed in the preliminary sketch of the character and manners of the Highlanders. This influence was so extensive, that the Duke of Atholl could, at one period, command the personal services of 3,000 men in arms; and, on important occasions, as in the begin-

ning of the last century, this number could be augmented to "6,000 of the best men in the kingdom, well armed, and ready to sacrifice their all for the King's service." *

As the exercise of such power was almost too great for any subject, it was found necessary to reduce it by legal authority; but though law deprived chiefs of their power, it could not, for many years, destroy the great influence they enjoyed, founded on the voluntary attachment and fidelity of their people. It is unnecessary to recur to the many instances I have already given of this disinterested fidelity, of which the period in question, thirty years after the law had abrogated all power formerly vested in chiefs and great landed proprietors, afforded several very striking and not-to-be-forgotten examples.

In times when so many northern patriots stepped forward in the service of their country, the young Duke of Atholl was equally ready, and Government, acceding to his application for authority to raise a regiment of Highlanders for general service, with power to appoint officers; a corps of 1,000 men was soon recruited, and embodied at Perth, Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, and uncle to the Duke of Atholl, being appointed colonel.

This was a respectable corps, both in point of officers and men. The former were young and spirited; the latter of the best description, in respect of morals, bodily strength, and personal appearance; but, unluckily, it was not their fortune to prove in the field how much these qualities conduce to military success. But as they were exemplary in quarters, attached and obedient to their officers, (with one exception, †) there is no doubt, but that the usual qualities of the Highland soldier would have been displayed by them in the field.

In June 1778 they were marched to Port-Patrick, and thence were transported to Ireland, where they were quartered during the whole war, being thus deprived of that op-

* Lockhart Papers. † See Appendix.

portunity of distinguishing themselves in active service, which every enterprising soldier so much desires.

The Atholl Highlanders had every advantage of discipline while commanded by Colonel Gordon, an officer of great experience, and firmness of character, though too much of the German school for a Highland regiment. But although he was of a temper to trust little to the native character of his men, and too apt to enforce his orders with a strictness which did not always yield to circumstances, he seldom had occasion to resort to corporal punishment. The honourable feelings with which the soldiers were animated, gave him a sufficient hold of them without resorting to such unpleasant means of coercion, the disgrace attendant on disorderly conduct being in general a sufficient restraint. It is creditable to the character of the regiment, that, under so close an observer of their discipline, too much accustomed to look on soldiers as pieces of machinery, destined to obey his orders without thought or reflection, beyond the immediate orders they received; very few punishments were inflicted; and that these were only of the kind usually inflicted on Highland regiments of that period.

In 1783, the regiment was ordered to England, and marched to Portsmouth for the purpose of being embarked for India. The unfortunate occurrences, which threw such a shade over its character on that occasion, are mentioned under another head, and, therefore, need not be detailed in this place. I shall only add, from the best authority, that these occurrences would not have taken place had the intentions of Government been previously explained, and had the inclinations of the soldiers been consulted, and their extended service to India left to their own choice, instead of an attempt being made to embark them contrary to their terms of service, this unfortunate blot would not have stained their character.

After the affair at Portsmouth was adjusted, the regiment marched to Berwick, and was disbanded there in April 1783.

The officers of this regiment lived on the happiest and most friendly footing. Those of them who survive still cherish their former friendships, and, at the distance of forty years, indulge in the recollections of early intimacy. These feelings extended to the soldiers, who, before the occurrence just mentioned, were respectful, and attached to their officers. The whole corps was, in short, like a family, of which General Murray was the common father and friend. Before the reduction, he assembled the officers, and, taking a memorandum of the wishes and views of each individual, he made such good use of his own and his family's influence, that, before he died, and without any further application on their part, he got every one who was so inclined restored to full pay.

This good man was indefatigable and unwearied in his zeal to serve his officers. The late Lord Sydney, when Secretary of State, used to call him the Bishop of Dunkeld; for, said his Lordship, "I never see his face but when there is some vacant church, or some office in Perthshire, or something formerly in the gift of the Bishop of Dunkeld, to give away." The late Mr Lewis, of the War Office, called him the Atholl Forester; "not," says he, "as the forester or keeper of Atholl deer, but as the guardian and friend of his Highlanders of the Atholl regiment, for whom he will take no refusal."

General Murray was wounded in a singular manner at the capture of Martinique in 1762, when captain in the 42d. A musket ball entered his left side, under the lower rib, passed up through the left lobe of the lungs, (as was ascertained after his death,) crossed his chest, and, mounting up to his right shoulder, lodged under the scapula. His case being considered desperate, the only object of the surgeon was to make his situation as easy as possible for the few hours he had to live; but, to the great surprise of all, he was on his legs in a few weeks, and, before he reached England, was quite recovered, or at least his health and appetite were restored. He was never afterwards, however,

able to lie down; and, during the thirty-two years of his subsequent life, he slept in an upright posture, supported in his bed by pillows.

He died in 1794, a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of the 72d regiment, and representative in Parliament for the county of Perth.

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## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT, OR SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS;

### NOW THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

### 1778.

THE Earl of Seaforth, having engaged in the Rebellion of 1715, and being included in the subsequent act of attainder, forfeited his estate and title. His grandson, Kenneth Mackenzie, repurchased the property from the Crown, was created an Irish Peer by the title of Lord Viscount Fortrose, and, in the year 1771, restored to the ancient title of the family, as Earl of Seaforth. In gratitude for these favours, he made an offer to his Majesty, in the year 1778, to raise a regiment on his estate, which in former times had been able to furnish 1,000 men in arms whenever the Chief required their service. Whether in poverty and exile, whether in possession of wealth and rank, Seaforth experienced no difference of respect, or disinterested and effectual support. * On the present occasion, the offer was accepted, and, in the month of May of that year, 1,130 men assembled at Elgin, immediately after Lord Macleod's Highlanders had marched to the south. They were prin-

* An instance of this will be seen in the Appendix, where 400 of Lord Seaforth's followers, or rather those who had been so when he was in possession of his estate and honours, marched to Edinburgh, to lodge a sum of money, part of their rents, which they were to remit to his Lordship when in exile in France in 1732.

cipally raised by gentlemen of the clan of "Caber Fey," as the Mackenzies are called, from the stag's horns on the armorial bearings of Seaforth. * After being reviewed at Elgin, they marched southward for embarkation.

Of this number, 500 men were from Lord Seaforth's own estate, and about 400 from the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The officers from the Lowlands brought upwards of 200 men, of which 43 were English and Irish.

The clan of Macrea had long been faithful followers of the Seaforth family, and, on this occasion, the name was so general in the regiment, that it was known more by the name of the Macreas than by any other. So much was this the case, that a memorable, but too common occurrence in Highland corps, which took place in Edinburgh, is still called in Scotland "The affair of the Macreas." This un-

* The arms and crest of the Mackenzies were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued Alexander II., King of Scotland, from an wounded stag, which had attacked him. The animal, becoming furious from the pain, ran in upon the King, threw him down, and would have killed him on the spot, had it not been for the prompt assistance of Kenneth Fitzgerald, who happened to be in sight, and, running up, dispatched the deer. In gratitude for this assistance, the King gave him a grant of the castle and estate of Ellan Dounan, and thus laid the foundation of the family and clan Mackenneth, or Mackenzie, so called from the name of their ancestor, who was an Irishman by birth. The crest is a stag's head and horns. It is a curious circumstance that the last Lord Seaforth's life should have been endangered in the same manner as that in which the first of the family saved the King's. Lord Seaforth was attacked by a hart in the parks of Braan Castle; but, being a powerful man, and possessed of great strength of arm, he closed on the animal, and, seizing him by the horns, pressed his breast against the deer's forehead. A long and desperate struggle ensued, till he was relieved by a game-keeper, who was attracted to the spot by the bellowing of the hart. His Lordship was bruised, but not materially injured. The late Mr West painted the rescue of King Alexander. The figures are portraits, in full size, of persons on the Seaforth estate, his Lordship being one of the number. Mr West told me, the last time I saw him, that he considered this painting the best of his earlier pieces.

fortunate misunderstanding is one of many proofs of the absolute necessity of preserving the utmost fidelity in transactions, or engagements, with soldiers. Independently of the dishonour that attaches to all breaches of promise, it is quite evident that the evils of the example are great and manifold, and that, according to all the known principles of human nature, fidelity cannot be expected from those who believe themselves to have been deceived.

In the month of June the corps was inspected by General Skene, and embodied under the denomination of Seaforth's Highlanders, or the 78th regiment. The whole were found so effective, that not one man was rejected. There being several supernumeraries, they were formed into a recruiting company, a measure the more necessary, as the corps was ordered for the East Indies, which destination was much more fatal to troops at that time than now, when the voyage is shortened by less than one-half, the quality of the provisions much improved, and the accommodation allowed, in ships employed as transports, very much enlarged.

In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation; but on its arrival there the men began to show symptoms of dissatisfaction. The transactions that took place on this occasion I have noticed in another place. * It is sufficient here to remark, that, after full attention was paid to their claims, the men embarked with much cheerfulness, and with a more complete re-establishment of their confidence, as their colonel, the Earl of Seaforth, was to accompany them on service.

The intention of sending them to India having been postponed, they landed in Guernsey and Jersey in equal divisions, whence, at the end of March, they were removed to Portsmouth, where, on the 1st of May 1781, they embarked for the East Indies, amounting to 1,110 rank and file, all in high health, and well disciplined. But however hardy their constitutions, and however capable of active exertions on land, they did not withstand the diseases inci-

* See Appendix.

dent to a voyage of eleven months, in bad transports, and living on food so different from that to which they had been accustomed. Lord Seaforth died, suddenly, before they reached St Helena, to the great grief and dismay of his poor Highlanders, who looked up to him as their main support. The loss of their Chief* was naturally associated in their thoughts with the recollections of home, with melancholy remembrances of their absent kindred, and with forebodings of their own future destiny; and so strong was this feeling, that it was believed to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind, which made them succumb more easily to the effects of disease.

Before they reached Madras, on the 2d of April 1782, 230 men had died of the scurvy, and out of 1,110 who had sailed from Portsmouth, only 390 men, when they landed, were fit to carry arms. The pressure of the service not admitting of delay, those who were able to march were moved up the country under the command of Major James Stuart, and joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote, in the beginning of May, at Chingleput. Many still being weak from the effects of the scurvy, and more liable to be affected by the heat on account of the impure state of their blood caused by the salt provisions, on which they had so long subsisted, they suffered extremely on this march. "This regiment was composed of men sinewy and robust, which rendered them much more susceptible of the sun's violence than those of more slender habits." †

General Coote found them so unfit for active service,

* The sudden and unexpected death of this spirited nobleman made a deep impression on the minds of his faithful followers, who knew that it was on their account alone he had determined to forego the comforts of a splendid fortune and high rank to encounter the privations and inconveniencies of a long voyage, and the dangers and fatigues of service in a tropical climate. He was succeeded in his estate, and in the command of the regiment, by his cousin, Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, of the 100th; on whose death, in 1783, his brother, Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, the late Lord Seaforth, succeeded to the family estate.

† Colonel Munro's India.

that he ordered the corps into quarters, leaving the few who were healthy attached to the 73d or Macleod's Highlanders, the only European corps then with the army. In the month of October the health of the 78th was so much re-established, that upwards of 600 men were fit for duty, and ever afterwards they preserved their health and efficiency in a remarkable manner. The colours, which had been laid up, were again unfolded, and in April 1783, the regiment joined the army under Major-General James Stuart for the attack of Cuddalore, as has already been noticed in Lord Macleod's Highlanders. * This army consisted of the 73d and 78th Highlanders, and the 101st regiment, with a considerable body of native troops, and was subsequently reinforced by a detachment of Hanoverians under Colonel Wagenheim. On the 6th of June, the army took up a position on sandy ground two miles distant from the garrison, with its right on the sea, and the left resting on the Bandipollum hills, having a second line in the rear. The enemy, commanded by Monsieur Bussy, assumed an intermediate position, nearly parallel, and half a mile in front of the fort. On the 13th of June a general attack was made on the enemy's position in front of the garrison. After a severe conflict, which lasted from four o'clock in the morning till near five in the evening, the enemy were driven from their principal defences, on their right; when a cessation of firing took place as if by mutual consent. It was the intention of General Stuart to renew the attack next morning, but the enemy retired within the garrison in the course of the night. In this affair, the 78th lost Captain George Mackenzie, and 23 rank and file, killed; and 3 serjeants, and 44 rank and file, wounded.

On the 25th of June, the enemy made a sally on the British lines, but were repulsed at every point, losing 150 men in killed and prisoners, including, among the latter,

* As there were two officers of the same name on this service, it may be mentioned, that Major-General James Stuart was of the family of Torrance, and brother to Andrew Stuart, the author of the celebrated Letters to Lord Mansfield. Colonel Stuart was of the family of Blairhall.

the Chevalier De Dumas, who is said to have been inconsolable because he was not wounded, probably wishing to found upon that circumstance a good excuse for his capture. *

Hostilities now ceased with France, but continued against Tippoo. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched to strengthen the army before Cuddalore, was ordered again to the southward, being reinforced by Seaforth's, and the 101st regiment, with some additional battalions of native troops, the whole forming an united force of more than 13,000 men. Colonel Fullarton was occupied with this army for some months in keeping down some refractory chiefs, and, in October, he moved on Palacatcherry, seizing, without difficulty, on some intermediate forts. It will be seen, in the proceedings of the second battalion of the 42d, (page 191,) that Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie had made an attempt on this place, but was induced to desist. The army encountered much fatigue on their march, during which, a detachment of grenadiers and light infantry, under the Honourable Captain Thomas Maitland, was extremely useful, by acting on the flanks, and preserving a communication through thick woods and a broken country. Early in November they reached the place, which was immediately besieged with such judgment and spirit, that the enemy surrendered on the 15th; an event accelerated by a gallant

* Among the wounded French prisoners was a young serjeant, whose appearance and manners attracted the notice of Colonel Wagenheim, who took him to his tent, and treated him with much kindness, till he recovered, and was released. Many years afterwards, when the French army, under General Bernadotte, entered Hanover, General Wagenheim attended his levee. He was immediately accosted by Bernadotte, who asked him if he recollected a wounded French serjeant to whom he showed kind attention at Cuddalore. After some recollection, the General answered, that he did remember a very fine young man of that description, but he had lost all sight of him, and would now be happy to hear of his welfare. "That young serjeant," said Bernadotte, "was the person who has now the honour to address you, and who is happy of this public opportunity of acknowledging, and will omit no means within his power of testifying, his gratitude to General Wagenheim."

dash of Captain Maitland and his flank corps, who took advantage of a shower of rain, from which the enemy had taken shelter, and advanced unperceived by them; quickly overpowered and drove them through the first gateway, which they left open; but the second being shut, Captain Maitland's farther advance was checked. However, with the same spirit with which he had acquired this post, he defended it till he was reinforced, upon which, the enemy became so much alarmed, that they immediately surrendered a garrison capable of a long defence under more resolute troops. Leaving a small garrison in the place, Colonel Fullarton marched back to Trichinopoly and Coimbatore.

In the course of this year the regiment was again unfortunate in the loss of Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, who died of wounds received in an action at sea, on the passage from Bombay. *

In consequence of the peace, the 91st, 100th, and 102d regiments, were ordered home for reduction, in 1784; such of the men as chose to remain in the country were to receive a bounty of ten guineas. Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war, those of the men who stood to this agreement were allowed to embark for England, while those

* Colonels Macleod and Humberstone had gone to Bombay to make strong representations regarding the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, General Mathews. These had the effect of his being suspended, and Colonel Macleod was appointed to the command, with the rank of Brigadier-General. While those officers, accompanied by Major Shaw, were on their return from Bombay in the Ranger sloop, on the 7th of April 1783, they fell in with a Mahratta fleet off Geriale. In a vain attempt to resist so superior a force, the Ranger was taken, and almost every man on board either killed or wounded. Major Shaw was killed, and Colonel Humberstone so severely wounded, that he died a few days afterwards in his twenty-eighth year, "universally lamented as a young man of superior accomplishments, and of great promise in his profession." Colonel Humberstone was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-General James Murray, from the half-pay of the 77th regiment.

who preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge reduced the regiment to 300 men, but so many Highlanders volunteered of those who had enlisted with Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, in the 100th, and the other regiments ordered home, that the strength of the corps was immediately augmented to 800 men; and, in 1785, a detachment of 200 recruits, from the north, joined the regiment.

The following year the number was changed to the 72d, in consequence of the reduction of the senior regiments. Success continued to attend the recruiting service of this respectable corps. Another considerable detachment of recruits joined in 1789; so that, in the year 1790, when war commenced with Tippoo, the 72d, still under the command of Colonel Stuart, was upwards of 1,000 strong, the men being healthy, seasoned to the climate, well disciplined, and highly respectable in their moral conduct. In this state they formed part of the army under Major-General Meadows, in July 1790. Their first service was under Colonel Stuart, with other troops, ordered to attack Palacatcherry, which, in the preceding war, had been the scene of success and disappointment to a corps which was now destined to sustain a second disappointment. The detachment being overtaken by the rains which fell in almost unprecedented abundance, Colonel Stuart got so entangled among the mountain streams, that, for a short period, he could neither proceed nor retire: when the waters abated he returned to head-quarters.

After a short rest, the same officer, with the same troops under his command, was again detached against Dindegul, before which place he arrived on the 16th of August. This is one of those insulated granite rocks, so common in that part of India. The fort on the summit had been lately repaired, and mounted with fourteen guns, the precipice allowing only of one point of ascent. The means of attack, both in guns and ammunition, were very deficient. How-

ever, a small breach was made on the 20th, and Colonel Stuart, judging that more loss would be sustained by delay than by an immediate attack, resolved to attempt an assault, small as the breach was, as, along with other difficulties, he was short of ammunition. Accordingly, on the evening of the 21st, the attempt was made. The defences were unusually complete, and the resistance more firm than had been experienced on any former occasion. Every man who reached the summit of the breach was met and forced down by triple rows of pikes from the interior of the rampart. After a bold, but fruitless effort, they were repulsed with considerable loss. But the enemy were so intimidated, and dreaded so much the consequences of a second, and, perhaps, successful attempt, that they surrendered next morning; ignorant of the want of ammunition, the real cause of the premature attack.

From this service Colonel Stuart was again directed to proceed against Palacatcherry, the season being now more favourable than on the former occasion. The fortifications of this place had been much strengthened since its capture by Colonel Fullarton in 1783, and the guns and ordnance stores necessary for the attack were, therefore, on a more extended scale. On the 21st of September, two batteries were opened within 500 yards of the place, and, the same day, a practicable breach was made. Every preparation was completed in the course of the night, for an assault the following morning, but before day-light the enemy demanded terms of capitulation, which were granted, and the usual protection to prisoners and private property promised and secured. Colonel Stuart, having left the place well provisioned and in a respectable state of defence, marched back, and, on the 15th of October, joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore. From this period Colonel Stuart, with his regiment, followed all the movements of the army, till the 29th of January 1791, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the chief command.

In the preceding service and marches, the casualties of the regiment were few. The subsequent operations of the 72d were, along with the 71st, in the second attack of Bangalore, the first attack of Seringapatam, and the attack on Sundidroog and Ootradroog, the fall of the last of which places was accelerated by the promptitude of Captain John M'Innes of the 72d, who being ordered out with a small party to reconnoitre, and observing a favourable opportunity, turned this duty into an assault, scaled the walls, and carried the place without loss.

In the same manner the service of the regiment is connected with that of the 71st and 75th, in the second attack on Seringapatam, and afterwards down to the conclusion of the war with the Sultan. While this corps, when on service, was under the command of so respectable and judicious an officer as Colonel Stuart, the Colonel at home was equally unremitting in his exertions to promote the welfare of his regiment, and attentive to the promotion of his officers, and the supply of good and efficient men to support the character of the regiment. From 1783 downwards, they received a full complement of excellent recruits from Scotland. General Murray had established a party at Perth, whose success was such, that one serjeant enlisted 273 men. This affords a proof of what may be done, under proper encouragement, and when men qualified for the duty are employed. When a man of address and knowledge of human nature meets with proper encouragement, recruiting has seldom failed in the North.

In the year 1793, the regiment was employed on the expedition against Pondicherry, and, in 1795, formed part of the force under their old commander Colonel, now Major-General James Stuart, in the capture of Ceylon. This was the last service of the regiment in the East at that period. In 1797, they were removed from Ceylon to Pondicherry, when orders were received, in December, to draft the regiment, then 800 strong, into the corps on that station, and for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and invalids,

unfit for service, to embark for England. This was one of the last instances in the East Indies of enforcing, as that of the 42d and 79th. Highlanders in the West Indies was the first instance of relaxing the system of drafting and transferring soldiers without their consent, which deprived men of nearly all hopes of ever revisiting their native land, and every good soldier of the great incitement to regular conduct. The suppression of this unfeeling practice encourages him to preserve regular habits, and to be careful of his constitution, as he has now a prospect of revisiting his native country, of enjoying the reward of his service, and that his good character will meet with the approbation of his friends and countrymen.

The skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras in January 1798, and, after a short passage, landed at Gravesend. From thence they were ordered to Perth, where they arrived in August, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Fraser, who had gone out the third Captain, and remained constantly with the regiment. Soon after they reached Perth, Major-General James Stuart, who had so long commanded them in India, was appointed Colonel in room of General Williamson, who had succeeded General Murray in 1794.

During two years that the regiment was quartered in Perth, recruiting was not successful. Whether it was that the emaciated appearance of the few, who were permitted to return home, did not hold out much encouragement to the young men, or the observation, that none of the great number of men who had left Perth to join the regiment returned with it, or the great drain of men from the Highlands at this period; from one or other of these causes, or probably from all combined, the corps did not recruit 200 men in three years. However, when removed to Ireland in 1802, the ranks were filled up to 900 with young men from the Scotch Fencible regiments, then reduced. This opportunity was eagerly embraced by Colonel Macfarlane, who succeeded to the command by the death of Lieutenant-

Colonel Fraser. He was now at the head of an efficient body of young men, which formed "a fine regiment, possessing as pure and true a spirit as any corps. One-fourth of the men and officers were English and Irish, and three-fourths Scotch Highlanders; and, singular as it may seem, the former were as fond of the kilt and pipes as the latter, and many of them entered completely into the spirit of the national feeling." And, "in all the solid essential qualities which form the character of the British soldier, they were perfect."

This regiment formed a part of the expedition, under Sir David Baird, against the Cape of Good Hope, on which occasion they maintained the long established character of the corps. The loss by the enemy was trifling, being 2 privates killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Chisholm, 2 serjeants, and 34 privates, wounded.

Agreeably to the general orders of 1809, the designation of Highland, and the ancient garb, were altered along with the other corps, and the uniform is now the same as that of the line.

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## EIGHTY-FIRST,

## OR

## ABERDEENSHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

### 1778.

The year 1778 is memorable in the North for the number of new regiments raised there, besides a very considerable number of soldiers recruited for the old regiments of the line. The 73d, of two battalions, the 74th, 76th, 77th,

78th, and 81st, regiments of the line, and the Argyle Regiment of Fencibles; in all nine battalions, of ten companies each; were embodied and completed in less than five months.

In December 1777 the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, received orders to raise a regiment of Highlanders. Although the estate and influence of the Aberdeen family lay in the Lowland districts of Aberdeenshire, it was from the Highlands that Colonel Gordon expected to fill his ranks; and as an inducement to the young men to enter more readily, the Highland garb, to which they were then extremely partial, although prohibited by severe penalties, was to be the regimental uniform.

It would appear that the expectation entertained of the ready enlistment of the Highlanders was well founded. Of 980 men then embodied, about 650 were from the mountains. Major Ross was followed by so many of his own clan and name, that he had nine men of the name of John Ross. In a body of men so intimately connected as these were, it may be supposed that their character and conduct must either be very good or very indifferent, as example, of whatever tendency, would more readily spread among a community so much knit together by the ties of kindred, country, and early intimacy.

In this regiment the current took a favourable turn, and its conduct and character were excellent throughout; but, unluckily, like their neighbours the Athole Highlanders, they had not an opportunity of proving in what manner they would acquit themselves before an enemy, and realize the expectations grounded on the steadiness of their general conduct.

The regiment was marched to Stirling, and passed from thence to Ireland, where it was stationed three years, always sustaining a character approved by the general officers in command, and by the people of the country. In the end of 1782 they crossed over to England, and, in March 1783, were

embarked at Portmouth, with an intention of sending them to the East Indies, immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, although the terms on which the regiment had enlisted were, that they should be discharged in three years, or at the conclusion of hostilities. The men, however, made no objections or complaint, and embarking very cheerfully, remained quietly on board, waiting the orders for sailing, and apparently overlooking or indifferent about the conditions of their engagements.

At length, however, a very opposite feeling evinced itself, when it was known that the Athole Highlanders had insisted on the performance of the terms of their agreement, and refused to embark. The example, as might have been expected, spread rapidly, and the Aberdeenshire regiment, following that of the Athole Highlanders, called for the fulfilment of their agreement, and requested to be disembarked and marched back to their own country to be there discharged. This request being conceded, the regiment marched to Scotland, and was disbanded in Edinburgh in April 1783.

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## EIGHTY-FOURTH,

## OR

## ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT.

### TWO BATTALIONS.

*(Originally embodied in* 1775, *but not regimented or numbered till* 1778.)

THIS corps was to consist of two battalions. Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Maclean, of the late 104th Highland Regiment, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant of

the first battalion, which was to be raised and embodied from the Highland Emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42d, of Fraser's, and of Montgomerie's Highlanders, who had settled in that country after the peace of 1763.

Captain John Small, formerly of the 42d, and then of the 21st, regiment, was appointed Major-Commandant of the second battalion, which was to be completed in Nova Scotia from emigrant and discharged Highland soldiers. The establishment of both was 750 men, with officers in proportion. The commissions were dated the 14th of June 1775.

Officers sent to the back settlements to recruit, found the discharged soldiers and emigrants loyal and ready to serve his Majesty. The emigrations from the Highlands, previous to this period, had been very limited. With many the change of abode was voluntary, and consequently their minds, neither irritated nor discontented, retained their former attachment to their native country and its government. But there was much difficulty in conveying the parties, who had enlisted, to their respective destinations. One of these detachments, from Carolina, had to force its way through a dangerous and narrow pass, and to cross a bridge defended by cannon, and a strong detachment of the rebels; "but aware that the Americans entertained a dread of the broadsword, from experience of its effects in the last war, with more bravery than prudence, and forgetting they had only a few swords and fowling-pieces, used in their settlements, they determined to attempt the post sword in hand, and pushed forward to the attack." But they found the enemy too strong, and the difficulties insurmountable. They were forced to relinquish the attempt with the loss of Captain Macleod, and a number of men killed. Those who escaped made their way by different routes, to their destination.

Colonel Maclean's battalion was stationed in Quebec, when Canada was threatened with invasion by the American General Arnold, at the head of 3,000 men. Colonel Maclean,

who had been detached up the river St Laurence, returned by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the evening of the 13th November 1776, without being noticed by Arnold. He had previously crossed the river, and on the night of the 14th made a smart attack, with a view of getting possession of their outworks, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Point au Tremble. The fortifications of the city had been greatly neglected, and were now in a ruinous state. The garrison consisted of 50 men of the Fusileers, 350 of Maclean's newly raised emigrants, and about 700 militia and seamen. General Carlton, the Commander-in-Chief, being occupied with preparations for the general defence of the colony, the defence of the town was entrusted to Colonel Maclean, an able and intelligent officer.

Arnold having been reinforced by a body of troops under General Montgomery, determined to attempt the town by assault. On the morning of the 31st December, both commanders, leading separate points of attack, advanced with great boldness, but were completely repulsed at all points, with the loss of General Montgomery, killed; and General Arnold, wounded. The Highland Emigrants, though so recently embodied, contained a number of old soldiers, who, in this affair, did honour to the character of the corps in which they had formerly served.

General Arnold, disappointed in this attempt, established himself on the Heights of Abraham, with the intention of intercepting all supplies, and blockading the town. In this situation, he reduced the garrison to great straits, all communication with the country being entirely cut off. This blockade he soon turned into an active siege; he erected batteries, and made several attempts to get possession of the lower town, but was foiled at every point, by the vigilant and intelligent defender, Colonel Maclean. *

* It was of Colonel Maclean, when a subaltern in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, that Count Lowendahl took such distinguished notice, for his conduct in the storming of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747.

On the approach of spring, Arnold, despairing of success, raised the siege, and evacuated the whole of Canada.

After this service, the battalion remained in the province during the war, and was principally employed in small, but harassing enterprises. In one of these, Captain D. Robertson, Lieutenant Hector Maclean, and Ensign Grant, with the grenadier company, marched twenty days through the woods with no other direction than the compass, and an Indian guide. The object to be accomplished was to surprise and dislodge the enemy from a small post which they occupied in the interior. This service was accomplished without loss. By long practice in marching through the woods, the men had become very intelligent and serviceable in this kind of warfare.

With every opportunity, and much temptation to desert, in consequence of offers of land, and other incitements held out by the Americans, it it but justice to the memory of these brave and loyal men to state, on the most unquestionable authority, that not one native Highlander deserted; and only one Highlander was brought to the halberts during the time they were embodied.

## SECOND BATTALION.

THE second battalion was very quickly embodied in Nova Scotia, and was composed of the same description of men as the first, but with a greater proportion of Highlanders, among whom Major Small was held in high esteem. No chief of former days ever more firmly secured the attachment of his clan, and no chief, certainly, ever deserved it better. With an enthusiastic, and almost romantic love of his country and countrymen, it seemed as if the principal object of his life had been to serve them, and promote their prosperity. Equally brave in leading them in the field, and kind, just, and conciliating in quarters, they would have indeed been ungrateful, if they had re-

garded him otherwise than as they did.* There was not an instance of desertion in this battalion. Five companies remained in Nova Scotia, and the neighbouring settlements, during the war. The other five joined General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis's armies to the southward. The flank companies were in the battalion of that description. At Eataw Springs the grenadier company was in the battalion, which, as Colonel Stewart states in his dispatches, drove all before them.

It was not till 1778 that this regiment was numbered the 84th. The battalions which were previously known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants were now ordered to be augmented to 1,000 men each, Sir Henry Clinton being appointed Colonel-in-chief, and the two commandants remaining as before. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purses made of racoon's instead of badger's skins. The officers wore the broad sword and dirk, and the men a half basket sword.† At the conclusion of the war both were

* Major Small was a native of Strathardle in Athole. His first commission was in the Scotch Brigade. In 1747 he obtained an ensigncy in the old Highland regiment, and served in it till the peace of 1763, when he was reduced as captain. I have already noticed the number of accomplished and respectable gentlemen whose characters as officers were so honourable to the regiment at that period. Captain Small was one of them. He died Major-General, and Governor of Guernsey, in 1796.

† On a St Andrew's day a ball was given by the officers of the garrison in which they were quartered to the ladies in the vicinity. When one of the ladies entered the ball-room, and saw officers in the Highland dress, her sensitive delicacy revolted at what she thought an indecency, declaring she would quit the room if these were to be her company. This occasioned some little embarrassment. An Indian lady, sister of the Chief Joseph Brandt, who was present with her daughters, observing the bustle, inquired what was the matter, and being informed, she cried out, "This must be a very indelicate lady to think of such a thing; she shows her own arms and elbows to all the men, and she pretends she cannot look at these officers' bare legs, although she will look at my husband's bare thighs for hours together; she must think of other things, or she would see no more shame in a man showing his legs, than she does in showing her neck and breast." These remarks turned the laugh against the lady's squeamish delicacy, and the ball was permitted to proceed without the officers being obliged to retire.

reduced, and grants of land given to the officers and men, in the proportion of 5,000 acres to a field officer, 3,000 to a captain, 500 to a subaltern, 200 to a serjeant, and 100 to each soldier. All those who had been settled in America previously to the war, remained, and took possession of their lands, but many of the others returned home.

The men of Colonel Maclean's battalion settled in Canada, and of Colonel Small's in Nova Scotia, where they formed a settlement or township, as it was called, and gave it the name of Douglas.

The transports with the flank companies from the southern army were ordered to Halifax, where the men were to be discharged; but, owing to the violence of the weather in the first instance, and a consequent loss of reckoning, they made the island of Nevis and St Kitt's instead of Halifax. This delayed the final reduction till 1784.

It would appear, that the first battalion was entirely forgot in their distant quarters. By their agreement they ought to have been discharged in April 1783, immediately after the conclusion of the war. This circumstance was forgotten or overlooked, and it was not till a representation by the officer commanding, Major J. Adolphus Harris, that orders were sent in July 1784 to discharge the men.

## FORTY-SECOND ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT,

## SECOND BATTALION;

## NOW SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

### 1780.

GREAT BRITAIN having now to oppose the united force of France and Spain, which had joined the Americans, Hyder Ali availed himself of so favourable an opportunity, when the strength of this country was divided, to recommence

hostilities; and engaged in his service a number of French officers, to form his army under a regular system of military discipline. Thus attacked on so many points, more than ordinary exertions on the part of Great Britain were called for. Fresh levies were accordingly embodied; and, among others, a second battalion, of 1,000 men, was added to the 42d regiment. On the 21st of March 1780, a short time after the appointment of the officers, a battalion of 1,086 men, including serjeants and drummers, was raised and embodied at Perth. The celerity with which these gentlemen recruited their men, and the readiness with which the youth of the country joined the ranks, was the more noticed, as upwards of 12,500 men had been raised north of the Tay within eighteen months.

The following officers were appointed to the battalion:

*Colonel*, Lord John Murray, 21st March 1780, died in 1787 the oldest General in the army.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Norman Macleod of Macleod, died 1801 a Lieutenant-General.

*Major*, Patrick Græme of Inchbraco, died 1781.

*Captains.*

Hay Macdoualall, son of Garthland, a Lieutenant-General.*
James Murray, died in 1781.
James Drummond of Perth, died in 1800.
John Macgregor, retired.
Colin Campbell, son of Glenure, retired.
Thomas Dallyel, killed at Mangalore in 1783.
David Lindsay, retired.
John Grant of Glenmoriston, retired. Died 1801.

*Lieutenants.*

John Grant.
Alexander Macgregor of Balhaldy, died Major of the 65th regiment in 1795.
Dougald Campbell, retired.
James Spens, retired Lieutenant-Colonel 73d regiment in 1798.
John Wemyss.
Alexander Dunbar.
John Oswald.
Eneas Fraser.
Alexander Maitland.
Alexander Rose.

*General Macdoualall was unfortunately lost at sea, with all on board, on the passage from India in 1809.

*Ensigns.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Charles Sutherland. | John Macdonald. |
| John Murray Robertson. | William White. |
| Alexander Macdonald. | Charles Maclean. |
| Robert Robertson of Ludc, killed. | John Macpherson. |

*Chaplain,* John Stewart, died 1781. *Surgeon,* Thomas Farquharson.
*Adjutant,* Robert Leslie. *Mate,* Duncan Campbell.
*Quartermaster,* Ken. Mackenzie.

After the formation, the battalion was quartered in Dundee and Fort George, removed from thence subsequently to Queensferry, and embarked for Chatham in December 1780, to form part of an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, under the command of Major-General William Meadows, and Commodore Johnstone, intended for an attack on the Cape of Good Hope. This force embarked in January 1781, and consisted of the second battalion of the 42d, the 98th, and 100th regiments, with one company of each of the following corps, namely, the 8th, 9th, 20th, and 47th regiments. Various delays detained the expedition till the 12th of March, when it sailed, and, touching at St Jago in April, was there attacked by the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein, who was repulsed with little loss on either side.

The expedition then sailed for the intended attack on the Cape of Good Hope; but Suffrein having arrived there before them, the attempt was abandoned, and the troops ordered to proceed to India. However, a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen, who had taken shelter in Suldanha Bay, were captured there. The troops shared the prize money. Their right to share was, however, disputed by Commodore Johnstone, on the plea that the troops had not landed; but, after a lapse of many years, it was determined in their favour.

The Myrtle transport, on board of which were Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod and Captains Macdowall and Dalyell, separated from the fleet off the Cape, and never afterwards

joined.* This vessel had neither chart nor map; and the master being an ignorant seaman, it was owing to the assistance of Captain Dalyell that he made Madagascar, the appointed rendezvous. Seeing no appearance of the fleet, they again sailed, and made their way back to St Helena. Here they procured charts, and at length reached Madras, on the 23d of May 1782.

The scurvy attacked the troops on the voyage, which induced the Commodore to put into the Island of Joanna, where fresh provisions were abundant. But, in attempting to cure one evil, they unfortunately encountered another; for, after the troops had landed, and were encamped, for the benefit of air and exercise, they caught the fever of the country, and, carrying the contagion on board, a great many of the men fell a sacrifice to it. Towards the end of September the squadron sailed, and arrived at Bombay on the 5th March 1782, after a twelve months' voyage; and on the 30th of April sailed for Calcutta. In the course of the passage from England to Bombay and Calcutta, the regiment suffered considerably. Major Patrick Græme, † 4 officers, and 116 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, died.

General Meadows remaining on board, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod in the Myrtle not having arrived, the command of the troops intended for actual service devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone of the 100th

* Captain Drummond having gone on board the Myrtle to dine with Colonel Macleod, a gale of wind sprung up, which prevented him from returning to his own ship. Two years afterwards this gentleman experienced a great change of fortune. From the rank and pay of a captain, he was placed at the head of his family, with an income of L. 18,000 a-year, by the restoration of the Perth estate, which had been forfeited after the Rebellion of 1745. A few years afterwards the title of Lord Perth, which had formerly belonged to his family, was restored in his person.

† Major Græme died of sea-sickness. Nothing remained on his stomach for nine months, and his constitution sunk under extreme exhaustion. This respectable officer, who was the eldest son of Mr Græme of Inchbraco, and had served with the first battalion of the 42d in America, died a few weeks before the fleet reached Madras.

regiment, under whom an expedition was undertaken for the purpose of attacking Palacatcherry, situated in a country considered of importance to Hyder Ali. The troops, consisting of seven companies of the Highlanders, a detachment of the 100th regiment, and some native corps, took the field on the 2d of September 1782; and, after taking several small forts on the march, reached their destination on the 19th of October, when, on a full examination, the fort was found everywhere much stronger than had been represented; at the same time that intelligence was received of Hyder's having sent his son, Tippoo Saib, with a large force, for its relief. In such circumstances, a regular siege could not be attempted; and, as it could not be taken by assault, Colonel Humberstone determined to withdraw to Mangaracotah, one of the small forts he had taken. The intelligence of Tippoo's advance being well founded, Colonel Humberstone continued his retreat, and, blowing up the forts of Mangaracotah and Ramguree, arrived at Paniané, closely pressed on the march by the enemy, who had pushed forward with considerable rapidity, and in great force.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, who had arrived, now assumed the command, and found himself surrounded by an enemy of 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans under the French General Lally. The British force was reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans, and 2,200 English and Travancore Seapoys, fit for duty. The post was strong by nature, and some attempts were made to strengthen it still more by field-works; but, before these were completed, the French General Lally attacked the post on the morning of the 29th November. He advanced with great spirit at the head of his European troops; but, after a smart contest, well supported on both sides, the enemy were repulsed, and entirely defeated.

The weight of Lally's attack was directed against the post occupied by the Highlanders, whose repeated charges with the bayonet were principally instrumental in promoting

the success of the day. "This little army, attacked, on ground not nearly fortified, by very superior numbers, skilfully disposed, and regularly led on: they had nothing to depend on but their native valour, their discipline, and the conduct of the officers. These were nobly exerted, and the event has been answerable. The intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character." * The loss of the British and Native troops was 8 officers and 88 soldiers killed and wounded. That of the 42d regiment was 3 serjeants, and 19 rank and file, killed; Major John Campbell, Captain John Campbell, Surgeon Thomas Farquharson, (who lost his left hand,) 2 serjeants, and 31 rank and file, wounded.

After this defeat, Tippoo retreated towards Seringapatam, the movement being hastened by accounts received of the death of his father, Hyder Ali.

The enemy making no farther attempts to disturb this post, Colonel Macleod, with his battalion, was ordered to embark for Bombay, to join the army under Brigadier-General Matthews. This junction was formed on the 8th of January 1783, at Cundapore; and, on the 23d, Brigadier-General Matthews moved forward to attack Bedenore, the capital of a rich province, the conquest of which was of the more importance, as the Sultan had received from it the greatest part of the supplies for his army.

During the march, the troops were considerably harassed by the enemy's flying parties; but their greatest impediment arose from the nature of the country, rendered still more difficult by a succession of field-works erected on the face of mountains they had to ascend, but which, however, proved more formidable in appearance than in the defence of the enemy. On the 26th February 1783, "the 42d, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of Seapoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and, pursuing like High-

* General Orders.

landers, were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred were bayonetted, and the rest pursued to the walls of the fort." In this manner seven forts were attacked and taken in succession, when the formidable appearance of the principal redoubt, named, by way of pre-eminence, Hyder Gurr, rendered it necessary to proceed with more caution. This fort is situated on the summit of the highest ghaut or precipice, with a dry ditch in front, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon. On the face of the mountain seven batteries were placed on terraces, one above the other, with internal lines of communication; but the outward approaches were obstructed by large trees, cut down and placed transversely, so as to prevent the ascent on any part, except that immediately exposed to the full effect of the guns. These obstructions, formidable, if well defended, were, however, of no avail, for the spirit with which all the lower defences were attacked and carried struck such terror into the minds of the enemy, that they evacuated this strong position in the course of the night; and making no farther resistance, Beddinore was taken possession of on the 27th of January 1783.* In this place a full supply of every necessary was found, and the expectation of the troops considerably excited by the prospects of great sums of prize money. But these expectations were soon succeeded by a melancholy disappointment and reverse, I mean the capture of General Mathews, and the greatest part of his army, at Beddinore.

From this misfortune, the Highlanders, forming part of a detachment under Major Campbell, were exempted. The object of the detachment was to attack and take possession of the fort of Annanpore. This service was accomplished on the 15th of February with great loss to the enemy. The loss of the British was quite trifling. By the following extract from Major Campbell's orders, it appears,

* In the fort of Hyder Gurr was found 8,000 stand of new arms, with a large quantity of powder, shot, and military stores.

that, on this occasion, some of the troops forgot the necessary steadiness which distinguishes good soldiers, in not trusting to the bayonet instead of powder. "Major Campbell returns his thanks to the army for their spirited behaviour yesterday, and his particular acknowledgments to Captain Dalyell, and the officers and men of the flank companies of the 42d regiment who headed the storm; but strongly recommends, when the bayonet can be used, that a shot should not be fired."

After remaining here till near the 28th of February, the battalion was again employed under the command of Major Campbell, and ordered to occupy two small forts, Canical and Morebeddy, in which they remained till the 12th of April, when they marched first to Goospore, and thence to Mangalore.

A few weeks previously to this period, Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod and Humberstone having gone to Bombay, the command of the troops at Mangalore devolved upon Major Campbell, now promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. These officers had gone to Bombay for the purpose of making strong remonstrances against the conduct of General Mathews, who was, in consequence, suspended from his command, and Colonel Macleod, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, appointed to succeed him, but too late to save the unfortunate army at Beddinore, whose surrender subjected them to all the miseries which a cruel and ferocious enemy could inflict.

The consequences of the surrender of Beddinore soon appeared. A considerable force was immediately detached by Tippoo to the neighbourhood of Mangalore, where a position was taken up by them about twelve miles distant from the place. On the 6th of May they were attacked and defeated by Colonel Campbell, with the loss of all their guns; but few men were killed or wounded on either side, as the enemy made a feeble resistance. The Highlanders had Captain William Stewart wounded, 7 privates killed, and 16 wounded.

Tippoo being now at full liberty to act without restraint or fear of an enemy, if we except the small force in Mangalore, marched with his whole army, expecting an easy conquest. His apparently overwhelming force consisted of 90,000 men, exclusive of a corps of European infantry under Colonel Cossigny, Monsieur Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, and a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, the whole supported by 90 pieces of cannon. The troops in the garrison amounted to 459 Europeans, and 1,500 natives fit for duty. Of the Europeans, 231 were Highlanders. There was a numerous list of sick.

To give a detail of the events of a siege which lasted from the middle of May 1783 till the 30th of January 1784, when the capitulation was signed, would exceed the necessary limits of this narrative. The place was completely invested, with the exception of an outpost distant upwards of a mile, which, though strong, required too great a force to defend it. The occupation of this position was persevered in for some days, after the enemy had got possession of some passes, which nearly intercepted the communication with the garrison. Whether from an impression of the difficulty of retreat, or from the influence of a powerful attack, made by the enemy on the morning of the 23d, the Seapoys, who had the defence of the post, gave way on all sides the moment the attack commenced. The 42d, with a corps of Seapoys, were ordered out to their support, but so sudden was the route of those in advance, that the reinforcement was too late to save them, and the whole retreated together within the garrison. This first and only error in the commander, in allowing part of his communications with his outposts to be cut off, and this want of steadiness in the troops, were, however, fully compensated by the ability, courage, and perseverance, with which the place was afterwards defended, though the garrison were suffering the severest privations. Although the enemy were so ably supported, and their operations so powerfully seconded by their French allies, every attack was repulsed. At length a continued

bombardment had made large breaches in the walls, and reduced many parts into a mass of ruin, from which the besieged could not venture to fire their cannon. *

This silence on the part of the garrison increased the boldness of the enemy. They made several attempts to enter the breaches and take the place by assault, but were uniformly repulsed, sustaining a greater loss by every successive attack. In this manner the enemy continued their attacks with similar bad success, till the 20th of July, when, both parties seeming equally disposed to relax from their fatigue, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon. This agreement was, however, broken on the 23d, by the enemy, who sprung a mine at the moment that the flag of truce was flying. Hostilities immediately recommenced, and continued till the 29th, when another cessation, which ended in a regular armistice, was agreed upon. By this time the provisions were nearly exhausted, and the consequent privations of the garrison extreme. On the 17th of August Brigadier-General Macleod, with a small convoy of provisions and a reinforcement of troops, anchored in the bay. This prospect of relief animated the half famished garrison, but the General, influenced by an honourable regard to the terms of the armistice, ordered the ships back to Tillycherry, notwithstanding the enemy were committing daily infractions, repairing old batteries, and erecting new ones. On the 22d of November another reinforcement appeared on the coast. Every arrangement was speedily made for the landing of the troops, but after they were seen in the boats, they again re-embarked in the transports and sailed.

Another visit of similar description was made by General Macleod on the last day of December, and again he departed, still preserving faith with an enemy who showed no disposition to imitate the example; keeping the garrison in close blockade, without the smallest supply of provisions.

* The enemy threw stones weighing 150 pounds from large mortars. This species of artillery destroyed many houses, and when they fell on a hard substance, split in pieces, and did great execution.

The misery and privation of the troops thus tantalized, had risen to a height almost insupportable. They were reduced to nearly one-half of their original number, and one-half of the remainder was in the hospital. Tormented and tantalized with so many expectations of relief, the sick, who had been temporarily invigorated by hope, became dispirited by their disappointments, and relapsed into a state of despondency, that proved fatal to numbers. Many of the Seapoys became totally blind, and others were so weak that they dropped down when shouldering their firelocks. The decisive moment seemed now to have arrived; their provisions were nearly consumed, the patience of the troops entirely exhausted by frequent disappointments; they had no hope of relief, nor the least knowledge to what part of the coast Brigadier-General Macleod had sailed; "and the troops were eating horses, frogs, dogs, crows, cat-fish, black grane, &c. &c. and in the utmost distress for every necessary of life." In this state it was determined, by a council of war, to surrender the place on terms highly honourable to the garrison. The terms were joyfully accepted by the enemy, and the garrison embarked for Tillycherry, where they landed on the 4th of February 1784.

This fort, defended by a few hundred men, employed the Sultan's main army for nearly nine months; and while the firmness of the garrison must excite admiration, it is to be regretted that such an event did not occur earlier in the war, as the neutralizing of so vast a force would have greatly influenced the progress of hostilities. A detailed account of casualties in the garrison has not been published, but the small loss of the Highlanders shows the spirit with which every assault and attempt of the enemy were resisted. These numerous attacks were received with an energy, and were driven back with a rapidity, that paralyzed the enemy, and rendered their fire in a manner aimless, and of little effect; consequently, the loss was only Captain Dalyell, Lieutenants Macpherson, Mackenzie, and Macintyre, and 17 soldiers, killed; and Captains William Stewart, (who

died of wounds,) Robert John Napier, Lieutenants Murray, Robertson, and Welsh, and 76 soldiers, wounded.*

Thus ended the defence of Mangalore, an event which did not, in this country, receive the notice which it so well deserved, from the firmness displayed by the besieged against so great a force of the besiegers, urged on by the inveteracy and determination of the Sultan, exasperated at the unexpected defence of so diminutive a place, apparently incapable of resisting a regular siege, but which, nevertheless, consumed so much of his time and of his army. †

Mangalore consisted of an upper and lower fort, surrounded by a ditch, in some parts deep and wide, without any bomb-proof casement or cover; but the true defence consisted in the firmness and reciprocal confidence subsisting between the commander and the garrison, and not in the strength of the walls, or the depth of the ditch. The force of this garrison consisted of the second battalion of the 42d, a few men of the 100th regiment, a detachment of European infantry and artillery, and the 1st and 8th battalions of Bombay Seapoys. The good conduct of these native battalions was so conspicuous, that the latter was made a grenadier corps, and, fortunately for the service, great unanimity subsisted between them and the Highlanders, who named them their first battalion. Colonel Fullarton, in his Views of the British Interests in India, says, "We now arrive at the most interesting moment of the war; the garrison of

* Among the officers of the garrison killed was Mr Dennis, the acting chaplain. Soon after the siege commenced, he was standing behind a breast-work of sand-bags, viewing the operations of the enemy, and looking through a small opening, a match-lock ball entered, and passing through his forehead, killed him on the spot.

† After the surrender, Colonel Campbell had an audience of the Sultan, who said many handsome things on the gallant defence of his garrison, made him a present of an Arabian charger and sabre, and behaved altogether in a manner which formed a complete contrast to his father's, as well as to his own cruel treatment of the unfortunate prisoners who fell into their hands. The miseries inflicted on General Mathews and his army after the surrender in Beddinore were shocking to humanity.

Mangalore, under its inestimable commander, Colonel Campbell, had made a defence that has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed. With a handful of men, worn out by famine, he resisted for many months a formidable force under Tippoo Sultan. The whole power of this Prince, assisted by the science of the French auxiliaries, could not force a breach that had long been laid open, and he was repulsed in every attempt to take it by storm." The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Lindsay, in his Military Miscellany, speaking of this and another similar affair, says, "The defence of Colberg, in Pomerania, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore, in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now the 73d regiment, we conceive, are as noble examples as any in history."

The East India Company appear to have been of the same opinion, for they ordered a monument to be erected at Bombay to the memory of Colonel Campbell, * Captains Stewart and Dalyell, and those who fell at the siege, and a handsome gratuity to be given to the survivors.

The regiment, now much reduced, embarked for Tillycherry, where it remained till April 1784, and then embarked for Bombay.

* Colonel Campbell died at Bombay. He was the eldest of seven sons all of whom died before their father, Lord Stonefield, one of the Lords of Session, by Lady Grace Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Bute. This accomplished officer combined the qualities of great firmness and rapid decision with conciliating manners. By his example and energy, he encouraged the brave, and checked those who might be inclined to murmur at such privations and hardships as they encountered in Mangalore; and by his kindness and sensibility to the distress of his soldiers, he cheered and inspired all. Captain William Stewart died of his wounds. He had been Deputy Quartermaster General to General Mathews' army, but had resigned, and joined his regiment before the surrender of that commander and his unfortunate army. Captain Stewart was son of William Stewart of Garth. Captain Dalyell was an intelligent and accomplished officer. While at sea he navigated to a sea-port the transport which had parted company, and in the field he was a brave soldier, and an excellent engineer. He was son of Mr Dalyell of Lingo, in the county of Fife.

The siege of Mangalore was the last active service in which this regiment was employed as the second battalion of Royal Highlanders. At the conclusion of the war, it was intimated to the second battalion, that, instead of placing all the officers on half-pay, the juniors should be reduced in each rank of both battalions. On this intimation, mutual representations were made by each battalion, stating the service of officers in distant regions. The case was taken into consideration, and to save officers, who had served so long, from the half-pay, and as the battalion was now complete in numbers by recruits from Scotland, his Majesty ordered it to be formed into a separate corps, with green facings instead of blue, under the denomination of the 73d regiment, and the command to be given to Sir George Osborne. It was now a distinct corps so far as related to change of name; but it has always upheld the character which it had so honourably acquired as foster-brother to the old Highland regiment. This event took place at Dinapore in Bengal, on the 18th of April 1786.

I shall now proceed with a rapid sketch of the actions and services of the 73d Highland regiment, down to the period when that designation, together with the ancient national dress, was changed in the year 1809.

The 73d removed from Dinapore to Cawenpore, in December 1787, and, remaining there till March 1790, moved to Fort William in Bengal. From thence the regiment was sent round, in 1791, to the coast of Malabar, and placed under the command of Major-General Robert Abercromby. During these periods several detachments of recruits joined from Scotland, and different changes took place among the officers. Major Macdowall was promoted to the 57th, and was succeeded by Captain James Spens; Captains Grant and Henry Grahame retired, and Francis Skelly was promoted to the 74th regiment.

Lord Cornwallis, having resolved to attack Seringapatam, directed General Abercromby, with all his disposable force,

consisting of the 73d, 75th, and 76th, British, and seven Native regiments, to form a junction near the point of attack. This army commenced its march on the 5th of December 1791. The roads were much cut up with the torrents of the Monsoons, which occasioned great delay and difficulty in getting forward the heavy artillery and provisions. On the 21st of January 1792, they had ascended the Ghauts, and were proceeding on the 22d, when orders were received to halt, to place the heavy artillery in position, and to be ready to move forward in light marching order, on the shortest notice. General Abercromby remained here till February, when he was directed to move forward, and occupy a position about 40 miles from Seringapatam. He commenced his march on the 8th, and on the 11th, having received farther instructions, he crossed the Cavery at Evalore. In the course of his march, parties of the enemy's horse made several attempts to break in upon the baggage, and on the 13th, in particular, they pushed forward with great boldness, but were never able to make any impression. On the 16th, a junction was formed near Seringapatam. On the 22d, a part of the army had a smart conflict with the enemy, which ended in the repulse of the latter; and on the 24th, the preliminaries of peace having been settled, all hostilities ceased.

Considerably reduced by sickness, but always receiving reinforcements of recruits, the 73d marched into the Carnatic. The regiment was 800 strong in 1793, when embarked on the expedition against Pondicherry, where they served in Colonel David Baird's brigade. In this service Captain Galpine, Lieutenant Donald Macgregor, and Ensign Tod, were killed.

In 1795, the 73d regiment formed part of the force, under Major-General James Stuart, destined to act against Ceylon, and remained in that island till 1797, when they returned to Madras, and were quartered at St Thomas's Mount and other parts of that presidency, till they took the field in 1799, and joined the army under General Harris.

On the 1st of February the first division of the army moved forward on an enterprise which was to decide the fate of an extensive, rich, and populous kingdom. On the 27th of March the army was at Malrilly, when the whole force of the enemy, under the command of the Sultan, was seen drawn up about two miles distant from the English encampment. Here a smart skirmish took place between the advanced picquets under Colonel Sherbrooke and the enemy's cavalry. This brought on a more general action, which ended in the rout of the whole of the enemy's force, with the loss of 1,000 men, while that of the British was only 69 men killed and wounded. The army continued to advance slowly, and, on the 5th of April, took up a position preparatory to the siege of the capital of Mysore, now undertaken for the third time within the space of a few years. The same evening the enemy's advanced troops and rocket-men annoyed the picquets, when two columns, under the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, were directed to drive them back, and establish posts more in advance. Owing to the darkness of the night, and some unexpected obstructions, this attempt failed; but the object was accomplished the following morning by the same officers. The advanced posts were established within 1,800 yards of the garrison. On the 15th the Bombay army, under Major-General James Stuart, joined and took up a position in the line. On the 17th a party, under Colonel Hart of the 75th, advanced and dislodged the enemy, and, after forcing them back, established themselves under cover within 1,000 yards of the fort. At the same time Major Macdonald of the 73d, with a detachment of his own and other regiments, took possession of a post at the same distance from the fort on the south. In the mean time, batteries were erecting, and all necessary preparations for a siege going forward with great activity, when, on the evening of the 20th, another advance was made by Colonels Sherbrooke, St John, and Monypenny, who drove 2,000 of the enemy from an entrenched position, within 800 yards

of the place, with a loss to the latter of 250 men, while that of the British was only five killed and wounded. Approaches so easily accomplished must soon lead to a conclusion. On the 22d the enemy made a vigorous sortie on all the advanced posts. They were repulsed, but they renewed the attack repeatedly, till they were finally driven back with great loss. On the 23d the batteries opened with such effect, that in the course of the day they silenced all the guns opposed to them. In this manner the operations were carried on till the morning of the 4th of May, when it was resolved to attempt the place by assault. The command was given to Major-General Baird, who, twenty years before, had been a prisoner within those walls which he was now to force. * The assault was to be made in two columns, commanded by Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke; the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley to command the reserve. The whole amounted to 4,376 firelocks. At one o'clock in the afternoon all was ready, and, on the signal being given, the troops rushed forward, and in less than two hours the capital of Mysore was in possession of the English. The Sultan and many of the principal officers were found among the slain, and all who survived within the walls were made prisoners.

After this important service, the 73d was employed under Colonel Wellesley, who marched against an active and zealous partizan of the late Sultan. This chief was soon

* History has seldom produced a more striking difference in the fortunes and circumstances of a man's life, than in the case of this officer. He now entered as a conqueror within the walls of a town where he had been led in as a prisoner, and kept in chains for three years, suffering under the most cruel treatment. As a conqueror, he showed a bright example of the difference between ferocious and generous minds. His revenge, when retaliation was in his power, was shown by endeavours to save the now prostrate enemy, and the inhabitants, from the fury of his troops, who knew what he and his brave fellow-sufferers had been made to endure, and were consequently more than usually exasperated.

afterwards killed in a charge of cavalry, and the army returned to quarters.

The regiment remained stationary in the conquered country, and in different parts of India, till embarked for England at Madras in 1805. All men fit for duty, who preferred remaining in the country, were allowed a bounty. So many accepted the offer, that few came home. These few landed at Greenwich in July 1806, and marched from thence to Scotland. When they reached Perth in 1807, there were only Quartermaster Mackintosh and a few men remaining of those who were embodied there in 1780 as the second battalion of the Royal Highland Regiment. In 1809 the ranks were again filled up to 800 men, when the uniform and designation being changed, they were no more to be called Highland. In the same year a second battalion was added, and the first embarked for New South Wales.

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## SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

### 1787.

The state of affairs in India, during the year 1787, requiring an additional military force, four new regiments were ordered to be raised for that establishment; two of them to be recruited in the north of Scotland, and two in the United Kingdom in general.

The establishment of the army, after the conclusion of the war, having been reduced as low as the 73d regiment, the first of those now raised became, of course, the 74th, which, along with the 75th, was to be Highland; while the other two regiments, the 76th and 77th, were to have no particular denomination.

Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B. from the half-

pay of Fraser's Highlanders, was appointed colonel. The regimental establishment consisted of ten companies, of 75 men each, with the usual complement of officers and non-commissioned officers.

As the call for reinforcements to India was urgent, orders were issued to embody as many men as had been raised previously to January 1788, without waiting for the full complement. Accordingly, 400 men, of whom about one-half were Highlanders, were assembled at Glasgow, and marched to Grangemouth, where they embarked for Chatham, whence they sailed for the East Indies, under the command of Captain William Wallace; the Lieutenant-Colonel, Gordon Forbes, and the officers of the Staff, remaining to recruit the regiment to the full establishment. This object being accomplished in the autumn of the same year, the recruits, in February 1789, followed the former detachment; and, after a passage of four months, during which they enjoyed the most perfect health, landed at Madras in June. There was a marked difference in the state of this voyage, as compared with those of the Highlanders of the second battalion of the 42d, 73d, and 78th regiments, who, in the years 1780 and 1781, were eleven, twelve, and thirteen months at sea, during which time the scurvy, (a disease now almost unknown,) and other complaints common in those days on long voyages, had carried off nearly 300 men of the three battalions, with a corresponding proportion of officers. Seaforth's Highlanders, in particular, were so reduced by scurvy, night blindness, and an accumulation of other diseases, that it was not until they had been recruited by some months' rest and refreshment in the country, that they could take the field. In the present instance, however, no inconvenience was experienced, although a considerable proportion of the men had been raised in Glasgow and Paisley, not the best nurseries for robust soldiers; for, independently of the dissipation too common in crowded cities, men confined twelve and fourteen hours a-day in warm close manufactories, seldom breathing the fresh air, and never exposed to

the inclemency and vicissitudes of the weather, require time before their constitutions can accommodate themselves to such a change of circumstances, and cannot bear wet and cold in the same manner as those trained up to agricultural employments, and from their infancy habitually exposed to all weathers. In the present instance, however, the healthy state of the troops was in a great measure owing to the excellent condition of the ships, the superior quality of the provisions, and the expeditious voyage, all of which circumstances were different in the years 1780 and 1781.

The uniform of the regiment was the full Highland garb, which was laid aside in the East, as improper for the climate: thus an uniform, which contributes to give so martial an appearance to a body of men, is unfortunately considered too cold for a winter campaign in the North, and too hot for one in the South; for, singular as it may appear, the kilt, as commonly worn, with so many plaits folded round the body, retains too much warmth in the hot seasons of the year, although it is found an excellent preventive against complaints in the bowels, common in cold and damp weather.

When this regiment was, in 1789, united at the cantonments of Poonamalee, it composed a corps of 750 men, perfectly fitted for service. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded Colonel Forbes in the command, was indefatigable in training them to an uniform discipline. Of this sort of duty he had acquired some experience during his service in America, as captain in Fraser's Highlanders; though, perhaps, that corps was but an indifferent school for acquiring the polish and correctness which strict discipline bestows. Yet few regiments, in modern warfare, did more duty, of the most efficient kind, with less discipline, than Fraser's Highlanders; and, as the training of the 71st, such as it was, so well answered the purpose for which all drilling is intended, it could not be greatly misapplied in the case of the 74th.

Hostilities, which had for some time past been anticipat-

ed, were now ready to commence; and Colonel Maxwell had an early opportunity of giving an honourable specimen of his ability, and of the professional knowledge which he had acquired. In the spring of the year 1790, Lord Cornwallis put all his forces in motion; the Madras army, of which the 74th formed a part, being under the command of Major-General Meadows. After a variety of movements, this regiment, in conjunction with the corps commanded by Colonel Kelly, was ordered to defend the passes leading into the Carnatic from Mysore. This officer having died towards the end of September, the command devolved on Colonel Maxwell. On the 1st of November, he was ordered to attack Baramahl; and, entering that country, reached the neighbourhood of Kistnaggery, (one of those stupendous, and apparently impregnable, fortified rocks, with which that country abounds,) which he intended to attack; but, before he had completed his arrangements, Tippoo Saib, who had received speedy information of this invasion of his territory, marched, with three-fourths of his army, to relieve the place, and, on the 12th, appeared in great force, ready to act against Colonel Maxwell. But this officer took up so excellent a position, and availed himself with such judgment of the strength of his ground,—with equal decision and promptitude, varying his dispositions according to circumstances,—that he anticipated and frustrated every attempt of the Sultan to attack him, unless at such manifest disadvantage as Tippoo was unwilling to hazard. On the two following days, similar attempts were renewed, with the aid of increased numbers, but with no better success.

On the evening of the 4th, the Sultan drew off his troops, on the approach of General Meadows with the British army. Thus, with the 74th and 76th regiments, the 4th battalion of the Madras Europeans, and the 3d, 7th, 13th, 14th, 21st, 26th, and 27th Bengal Seapoys, Colonel Maxwell baffled the bold attempts of an army greatly superior in numbers, and thwarted the plans of the Sultan, which, had

they been successful, would have given him an *eclat* extremely advantageous to his military character.

When Colonel Maxwell's detachment joined the army, under General Meadows, the 74th was put in brigade with the 71st and 72d Highland regiments, and accompanied all the movements of the army, with no loss on their part, until the 21st of March 1791, when the grenadiers, along with those of the 36th, 52d, 71st, and 76th regiments, together with their light companies, under the command of Major Skelly of the 74th, supported by the 76th regiment, the whole commanded by Colonel Maxwell, were ordered to storm Bangalore, which had been previously besieged. The attack succeeded in every point. The loss of the enemy was great, that of the British moderate. With the loss of only five men was taken a garrison which, as will be seen in the article on the second battalion of the 42d regiment, when defended by a small but resolute body of men, resisted for many months a force of not less than 90,000 men, whose attempts would have been completely frustrated, had it not been for the failure of provisions. Fourteen hundred brave men paralysed and rendered unavailable every effort of an enemy, more than sixty times their own number; and this too in a garrison without regular fortifications.

The 74th continued to bear a share in all the movements of the campaign, until the second attempt on Seringapatam, when, on the 6th of February 1792, the army was formed for the attack. The right wing, under Major-General Meadows, consisted of the 36th and 76th regiments, the centre, under the immediate order of the Commander-in-Chief, was composed of the 52d regiment, and of the 71st and 74th Highlanders. The 72d Highlanders formed the left wing, under Colonel Maxwell. *

* This able and high-spirited officer died at Cuddalore in 1794. He was son of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith. At an early age he was appointed to a company in Fraser's Highlanders, in which regiment he served during the whole of the American war with a degree of appro-

On this, as well as on all succeeding occasions, the conduct of the 74th was honoured with marked approbation. After the conclusion of the war with the Sultan, this regiment returned with the army to the coast; and, in the month of July 1793, the flank companies were embodied with those of the 71st, and formed part of the expedition against Pondicherry.

This service being completed, these companies again joined their battalions, now augmented by an accession of numbers from Europe, more than sufficient to supply the loss sustained in the preceding campaigns; and, in 1797, when the 71st was ordered to Europe, upwards of 200 men of that regiment joined the 74th, so that, in the following year, when the regiment took the field, under Lieutenant-General Harris, it was strong in numbers, and in an efficient state for service.

In all the operations that ultimately led to the storming of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May 1799, this regiment had its full share, and, on this memorable occasion, when the destruction of a powerful dynasty was completed, and a great empire overthrown, "the very spirited attack, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell, of the 74th regiment, which tended so greatly to secure the position our troops had attained in the enemy's works, claimed the strongest approbation of the Commander-in-Chief." *

From this period nothing material occurred until 1803, in the August of which year the regiment formed part of the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, in the army detached under the Honourable Major-General Arthur Wellesley. On the 8th of this month the fortress of Ahmadnagur, then in the possession of Scindia, the Mahratta Chief, was attacked and carried by assault, in which the

bation which his later conduct proved he so well merited, and which showed that he was one of those whose premature death their country has reason to deplore.

* General Orders.

74th was present, and distinguished for its conduct. On the 23d of September was fought the battle of Assaye, where the brunt of the attack fell on the 74th. * A short account of this service will be seen in the article on the 78th Regiment, as also of the battle of Argaum on the 29th November, when this regiment was also engaged, though much reduced in numbers, from the loss sustained at the battle of Assaye.

The 74th continued under the command of General Wellesley while he was in the field, and, in September 1805, embarked for England, leaving the men fit for duty in the country.

Few Highland officers being in the regiment when it returned from India, recruiting was by no means successful in the north, with the exception of that part of the duty entrusted to Captain Russell Manners, whose zeal and exertions at Perth met with merited success.

In 1809 the Highland uniform was laid aside, and, as the corps was not hereafter to be known by any national designation, the uniform of the line was adopted.

In the autumn of 1811 this regiment, now upwards of 700 strong, embarked for Spain, and was again placed under the command of its former General in India.

During the course of the campaigns in Spain and France, they maintained an uniform character for gallantry in the

* The regiment lost at Assaye Captains D. Aytone, Andrew Dyce, Roderick Macleod, John Maxwell, Lieutenants John Campbell, John Morshead Campbell, Lorn Campbell,* James Grant, J. Morris, Robert Neilson; Volunteer Moore, 9 serjeants, 7 drummers, and 127 rank and file, killed. Major Samuel Swinton, Captains Norman Moore, Mathew Shaw, John Alexander Mein, Robert Macmurdo, J. Longland, Ensign Kierman; 11 serjeants, 7 drummers, and 270 rank and file, wounded.

* Lieutenant Lorn Campbell was son of Colonel Campbell of Melford, an active and intelligent officer of the 42d regiment in the Seven Years' War. The Melford family was very unfortunate this year. Three brothers fell in the field, Captain John Campbell, and Lieutenants Alexander and Lorn Campbell, as also a near relation, Lieutenant Morshead Campbell, son of Colonel Alexander Campbell of the 74th regiment.

field. A mere enumeration of the battles in which they were engaged, will show how well this respectable regiment merits the gratitude of the country, and give some notion of the share they have had in the signal and successive defeats sustained by the enemy. In India they were present at Seringapatam and at Assaye. In Spain and France at Busaco, Fuentes de Onor, Cuidad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthés, and Toulouse, being twelve in all;—an honourable enumeration, and all fought under the eye of the same commander; for although General Wellesley did not Command-in-Chief at Seringapatam as at Assaye, he was a General on the Staff, and close to the 74th regiment, which has since performed so many long and fatiguing marches, and shared in so many important events under him.

## THE

## SEVENTY-FIFTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

### 1787.

This was the second Highland regiment raised in 1787. In the autumn of that year, Colonel Robert Abercromby was appointed colonel of a regiment to be raised in the North of Scotland. When a man of good family in Scotland was thus appointed, the town in the neighbourhood of which his influence chiefly lay was usually fixed upon as head-quarters. This corps was, therefore, to be embodied in Stirling. But, in the present case, the property of the family of Tullibody, lying close to the base of the Grampians, on the southern side, where, short as the distance was, the inhabitants differ so materially in their manners and dispositions from those within the range, Colonel

Abercromby could not raise his men as has often been done in the Highlands:—that is, without money. Highly respectable as the family of Tullibody is, an ordinary tacksman of a good family in the Highlands could, under the ancient system, have sent more men to serve the King, notwithstanding Mr Abercromby's high character, and the eminence of his sons, who had risen to the head of their respective professions; so different was the character of a people divided from the rest of their countrymen only by a ridge of hills. To the south of those hills, no recruits could be obtained without money. In the north money had its influence, but, in raising soldiers, it was less regarded than the character and family of the person recruiting, and with whose fortunes the young soldiers connected themselves. But, although Colonel Abercromby did not derive from his family the influence of a chief, he had an equivalent influence proceeding from the same causes, which gave the gentlemen of the Highlands so much command over the minds and dispositions of their tenantry. This was the respect and attachment to his person, entertained by a light infantry brigade which he had commanded for six campaigns in the American war. Many of the men who had then served under him, and had been discharged at the peace of 1783, enlisted anew. Several companies of this light brigade had been composed of the light infantry of the Highland regiments then in America. A considerable portion of these men, with about 300 more, enlisted at Perth and in the northern counties, formed the Highland part of the regiment. The regiment was embodied at Stirling in June 1788, immediately ordered for England, and embarked for India, where it landed in the latter end of 1788.

During the first eighteen months this corps remained in quarters, preparing under a sharp system of discipline for the subsequent campaigns. This system was carried into effect by one of the captains who commanded in the absence of the field officers. He was an able and intelligent officer; but he had been educated in a school in which he had im-

bibed ideas of correctness which required no small strength of mind to enforce, and which, when enforced with severity, tended to break the spirit of the soldiers to a degree which no perfection in movement can ever compensate. When applied to the British soldier in particular, this system has frequently frustrated its own purpose. I mean, if too frequently or indiscriminately applied; for, while the pressure of the service, during war, renders it necessary for officers to look less to moral character than to physical strength and personal appearance, in the choice of recruits, severe restraints and punishments are often perfectly indispensable. Commanding officers must have full power to punish, and the profligate and unprincipled must know that this power is vested in their commanders, and will be exerted with sufficient severity. If tempered with justice, and exerted only when absolutely necessary, no good soldier will complain. It is in the proper discrimination between the unintentional faults of the thoughtless or ignorant, and those of hardened profligacy, that the value of a judicious, humane, and considerate officer is known. His system of discipline will not be that in which it was almost impossible to be perfect, and equally difficult to escape punishment. When men see that good character is no security against punishment, they will think less of the commission of a crime, than of escaping detection. The sense of honour is accordingly destroyed from the despair of preserving it. When a soldier's honour is in such little consideration, that disgraceful punishments are applied to trifling faults, it will soon be thought not worth preserving. To the young Highlanders the dread of corporal punishment not only checks their military propensity, and prevents their entering the army, but it conveys to their minds a greater degree of horror and shame than even death itself. When a Highlander is brought to the halberts, he considers himself as having lost his caste. He becomes, in his own estimation, a disgraced man, and is no longer fit for the society of his friends. To them, therefore, or to his native coun-

try, he can never return. The halberts have ruined many a good soldier, and have prevented many a good man from becoming a soldier.

In the system of the officer in question, which was formed on the old Prussian model, fear was the great principle of action; consequently, it became the first object of the soldiers to escape detection, more than to avoid crimes. To threaten a man with a prospective punishment before he is guilty, is to teach and make him believe that he is capable of being so, and will undoubtedly lower the tone of his moral feelings and character. Little attention was paid to such sentiments in this corps, where the manner of carrying on the discipline was so opposite to that practised by several judicious officers of Highland regiments, consequently, there were more punishments in the 75th than in any other corps of the same description;—that is to say, during the existence of this discipline; when severity relaxed many crimes which would formerly have made punishment necessary, disappeared, and this regiment supported an honourable character throughout the course of its future service in the East.

Not only the 75th, but the whole army, now feel that general amelioration of discipline, which has proved so beneficial, and seems to have spread so genial an influence over their conduct and character. This improvement in discipline has already afforded the finest illustration of the success which may be expected in the army, when a Commander-in-Chief respects the honourable feelings of the soldier, improves his condition, exalts his station in society, and with a kindly attention, unparalleled in any public department, never allows a day to pass unnecessarily, without returning an answer to a soldier's letter, or any application made with regard to an officer, soldier, or their families, to pass unnoticed. On particular occasions, during the war, these applications, memorials, and letters, amounted to 150 and 200 in a day, the regular attention to which exhibited a degree of regard to the feelings and

welfare of individuals, and an accuracy almost incredible, were it not for the admirable arrangements under which the whole is conducted. With such an example at the head, the beneficial effects must be great and universal. How high the army now stands in character, compared with the estimation in which it was once held by the public, may be judged from the dread and lamentations so often expressed before the peace, of the robberies and depredations which would follow the discharges, by which so many soldiers would be thrown loose from the usual control. But so much the reverse has the fact proved at the different Assizes in Scotland, within the first four years immediately after the peace of 1814, that only two soldiers have been capitally convicted, and, indeed, few tried at all. Thus, while there is an avowed and evident depression of general morals, the army is rising in character, which must undoubtedly proceed from the superior comforts now enjoyed by the soldier. A soldier sees his rights respected, and while he performs his duty, he is certain of being well treated, well fed, well clothed, and regularly paid; he is, consequently, contented in his mind, and moral in his habits. Where the case is otherwise, it will be found that, in many instances, the fault lies in the mismanagement or misapplication of the authority under which he is placed. From this gratifying view of the state of the army, what may we not expect, especially with the prospect of so many years of peace, when such a selection of men may be made, that we may see the military ranks filled with persons of good character, instead of being considered as the refuge of the profligate, as many people have done, or as a receiving hospital for all those incurables who had in vain attempted other professions?

But to return to the discipline of the 75th. The necessity of its severity was not proved by the results, when the regiment passed under the command of another officer. The system was then softened and relaxed, and much of the ne-

cessity of punishment ceased; the men became more quiet and regular, and in every respect better soldiers.

I regret much that I have not been able to procure any information of the service of the corps, except what may be seen in the historical details of the wars in India, from 1790 to 1806, when the 75th was ordered for England.

In 1790 the regiment took the field, under the command of Colonel Hartley, on the coast of Malabar, and, in 1791 and 1792, formed part of the force under Major-General Robert Abercromby on his two marches to Seringapatam. From the period above mentioned, till the next and last attack on Seringapatam in 1799, the regiment was quartered in the usual manner in different stations. In the assault of Seringapatam the flank companies led the left columns.

From 1800 to 1804, the regiment was employed in the provinces of Malabar, Goa, the Guzzerat, &c., and in 1805 was with the army, under General Lake, in the disastrous attacks on Bhurtpore.

In 1806 the regiment was ordered to England; such of the men as preferred India were left in the country, and in 1809 the designation of Highland was very properly changed, as, at that time, there were, in the corps, not one hundred natives north of the Tay.

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## SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

## OR

## ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS.

### FIRST BATTALION.

### 1793.

In 1793, and the succeeding years, the whole strength and resources of the United Empire were called into action. In the northern corner of the kingdom a full proportion of its

absolute resources was produced. A people struggling against the disadvantages of a boisterous climate, and barren soil, could not be expected to contribute money. But the personal services of the young and active were ready, for the defence of the liberty and independence of their country. The men whom these districts sent forth, in the hour of danger, possessed that vigour and hardihood peculiar to an agricultural and pastoral life. As a proof of this, in late years, when typhus and other epidemic diseases were prevalent in the south, it was so different in the mountains, that, except in cases where infection was carried from the low country, few instances of typhus or other contagious distempers occurred, and where they actually broke out, they did not spread, as might naturally have been expected, from the confined and small dwellings of the Highland peasantry;—a fact only to be accounted for from their habitual temperance, and that robust vigour of constitution produced by sobriety and exercise.

It may, therefore, be allowed that the effective national defence which the agricultural population afford the state, is to be valued beyond a numerical force of another description, in so far as a man, whose strength of constitution enables him to serve his country for a term of years, though subjected to privations and changes of climate, is more valuable than the man whose constitution gives way in half the time. This remark applies forcibly in the present instance. Indeed, where sickness has prevailed among Highland soldiers, it has in general been occasioned less by fatigue, privations, or exposure to cold, than from the nature of the provisions, particularly animal food, * and from cloth-

* In 1805, the second battalion of the 78th regiment, newly raised, and composed of nearly 600 boys from the Highlands, was quartered in Kent, where many of the finest looking lads were attacked with inflammatory diseases, preceded by eruptions on the skin, arising entirely from the quantity of animal food suddenly introduced into the system, previously accustomed to barley and oatmeal, or vegetable diet. The stomachs of many rejected the quantity of animal food supplied, and it was not till the following year that they were fully seasoned.

ing unnecessarily warm. In the march through Holland and Westphalia in 1794 and 1795, when the cold was so intense that brandy froze in bottles, the Highlanders, consisting of the 78th, 79th, and the new recruits of the 42d, (very young soldiers,) wore their kilts, and yet the loss was out of all comparison less than that sustained by some other corps. These facts, to which might be added many others, are deserving of serious attention, especially when we reflect that, from 1793 to 1811, (exclusive of those recruited since that year,) the population within the Grampian boundary furnished, for the national defence, 74,442 men in arms for the regiments of the line, and for Fencibles, Militia, and Volunteers. * Producing so many defenders of the liberty, honour, and independence of the state, these mountains might have been saved from a system which tends ultimately to change the character, if not altogether to extirpate their hardy inhabitants. We have heard of the despotic institutions of the *Mesta* in Spain, which provide that the lands and pastures shall be cleared for the royal flocks, who are driven from district to district for subsistence. The monopoly of farms, which expatriates a numerous and virtuous race, is a species of Mesta, greatly more ruinous to the ancient inhabitants than that so justly complained of in Spain. Whether it proceeds from the privileges of an absolute monarch, or the power of engrossing wealth, we find that monopoly and despotism are frequently analogous in their ultimate result, although they may differ in the means to which they may resort for their attainment.

Individual severity as certainly generates disaffection to the commonwealth, as the political sins and oppressions of the government. However, the loyalty of Highlanders is not easily alienated, for, although the engrossing of farms, and removal of the old occupiers, caused such discontent in the county of Ross, that the people broke out in open vio-

* See Appendix.

lence * in the year 1792, and the recruiting for the 42d and other regiments was materially affected; yet, whenever the general welfare and honour of the country were called in question, and war declared, all complaints seemed to be buried in oblivion. And as the Frasers, who had been one of the most active, numerous, and efficient clans in the Rebellion of 1745, were the first, in the year 1756, to come forth in his Majesty's service, under the very leader who had headed them at Culloden, and, in like manner, in the American war, when the 71st, or Fraser's Highlanders, was the first regiment embodied; so, now, in the same country, whither, but two years before, troops had been ordered to repair, by forced marches, to quell the riotous discontents of the people, the first regiment raised in the late war was completed in a few months, after letters of service had been granted to the late Lord Seaforth. When completed it was numbered the 78th, (the old establishment of the army being 77 regiments,) the regiment raised by his predecessor the Earl of Seaforth, in the year 1779, having the same number. This regiment, however, was not raised with the same expedition as in former times. Probably some lurking feelings of dissatisfaction at the late proceedings and depopulations still remained. The desolate appearance of the once populous glens, the seats of happiness and contentment, too strongly commemorated these hated proceedings; especially as the people were, at the same time, uncertain whether a similar fate might not hang over themselves. But, notwithstanding of these appalling discouragements of patriotic and chivalrous feeling, the first establishment of the regiment was completed, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro at Fort George on the 10th of July 1793. Five companies were immediately embarked for Guernsey, where they were brigaded with the other troops under the command of the Earl of Moira. The other five companies landed in Guernsey in September 1793.

* See Article 42d Regiment, page 393, Vol. I.

This was an excellent body of men, healthy, vigorous, and efficient; attached and obedient to their officers, temperate and regular; in short, possessing those principles of integrity and moral conduct, which constitute a valuable soldier. The duty of officers was easy with such men, who only required to be told what duty was expected of them. A young officer, endowed with sufficient judgment to direct them in the field, possessing energy and spirit to ensure the respect and confidence of soldiers, and prepared, on every occasion, *to show them the eye of the enemy;* need not desire a command that would sooner, and more permanently, establish his professional character, if employed on an active campaign, than that of 1,000 such men as composed this regiment.

Among these men desertion was unknown, and corporal punishment unnecessary. The detestation and disgrace of such a mode of punishment would have rendered a man infamous in his own estimation, and an outcast from the society of his country and kindred. Fortunately for these men they were placed under the command of an officer well calculated for the charge. Born among themselves, of a family which they were accustomed to respect, and possessing both judgment and temper, he perfectly understood their character, and ensured their esteem and regard. Many brave honest soldiers have been lost from the want of such men at their head. The appointment of a commander to a corps, so composed, is a subject of deep importance. Colonel Mackenzie knew his men, and the value which they attached to a good name, by tarnishing which they would bring shame on their country and kindred. In case of any misconduct, he had only to remonstrate, or threaten to transmit to their parents a report of their misbehaviour. This was, indeed, to them a grievous punishment, acting like the curse of Kehama, as a perpetual banishment from a country to which they could not return with a bad character. For several years during which he commanded the regiment, he seldom had occasion to resort to any other re-

straint. The same system was followed up with such success by his immediate successors, Lieutenant-Colonels Randoll Mackenzie, and Adams, that, after being many years in India, "very little change occurred in the behaviour of the men, except that they had become more addicted to liquor than formerly. Selling regimental necessaries, or disorderly conduct in barracks, were very uncommon, and the higher crimes totally unknown. They were steady and economical, lived much among themselves, seldom mixed with other corps, were much attached to many of their officers, and extremely national. The climate of India preventing the officers from so frequently visiting or being so much among them as when in Europe, lessened the knowledge and intimacy that had previously subsisted between them, but by no means did away their reliance and confidence in each other." No officer enjoyed this confidence more than Colonel Adams. Although not a Celtic Highlander of Scotland, he was a Celt of Wales; and had he been from the Highlands of Ross, he could not have been more acceptable to the soldiers, who were fortunate in having, for many years, a commander who so fully appreciated the peculiar traits of their dispositions. He joined the regiment at the formation when very young, entered more readily into their feelings and peculiarities, and looked upon them with more indulgence than many of their own countrymen.

The following is a list of the original officers. Commissions dated 8th of March 1793.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*, F. H. Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth, Lieutenant-General in 1808, died 1816.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, Lieutenant-General in 1808, died in 1809.

*Majors.*

George Earl of Errol, died 1799.

Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Lieutenant-General in 1809.

*Captains.*

Alexander Macleod, died in 1798.

Thomas Fraser of Leadclune, retired.
John Mackenzie of Gairloch, Lieutenant-General 1814.
Gabriel Murray, killed in 1794.
Alexander Grant, retired, died in 1807.
J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-General 1804, killed at Talavera 1809.
Alexander Adams, Major-General 1814.
Hon. Geo. Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald, retired.
*Captain and Lieutenant*, Dun. Munro of Culcairn, retired.

*Lieutenants.*

Colin Mackenzie.
James Fraser, retired 1795.
Charles Rose.
Hugh Munro, Captain of Invalids.
Charles Adamson, retired.
William Douglas, son of Brigton, died Lieutenant-Colonel 91st regiment.
George Bayley, promoted in 44th to a company.
Thomas Lord Cochrane, Captain Royal Navy.

*Ensigns.*

Duncan Macrea.
John Macleod, Colonel 1813.
J. Mackenzie Scott, Captain 57th, killed at Albuhera.
Charles Mackenzie.
John Reid.
David Forbes, Lieutenant-Colonel half-pay.
Alexander Rose, Major of Veterans.
John Fraser.

*Chaplain*, Alexander Downie, D.D.
*Adjutant*, James Fraser.
*Quartermaster*, Archibald Macdougall.
*Surgeon*, Thomas Baillie, died in India.

In September 1794, the 78th, along with the 80th regiment, embarked from Guernsey to join an expedition forming under the command of Major-General Lord Mulgrave, intended to occupy Zealand. By an unpardonable neglect, the troops were put on board transports recently arrived from the West Indies, with a number of prisoners, of whom many had died of fever on the passage. Without any inspection, the same bedding was served out to the troops, who, as might have been anticipated, caught the infection. By great care it was, however, prevented from spreading; and when the fleet reached Flushing, the 78th, 79th, 80th,

84th, and 85th, received orders to join the Duke of York's army on the Waal. Lord Mulgrave was to return with the other corps to England. In the middle of October the Highlanders reached Tuil, and marched from thence to the village of Roscum, on the Bommill Wart on the Maese. The opposite bank was occupied by the enemy in force. Nothing occurred beyond popping shots across the river. One of these causing a false alarm, an emigrant Dutch artillery officer, by some misapprehension or ignorance of the language, fired a gun loaded with case shot, and desperately wounded Lieutenant Archibald Christie of the 78th, and a serjeant, who were standing in the range of the shot, giving directions to a sentinel. Lieutenant Christie, who is now Commandant-General of Hospitals, suffered extremely, for many years, from the severity of the wound received by so unfortunate and provoking an occurrence. *

The enemy having laid siege to Nimeguen, the 78th was ordered to reinforce the garrison, from which a sortie was made, on the 4th of November, by the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th Highlanders, along with some cavalry and Dutch troops. In this their maiden service, the Highlanders did justice to the expectations formed of them. They moved forward under a very heavy fire, and leapt into the trenches, in the midst of a French battalion drawn up ready

* While the troops lay at this post, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, much attention was excited by the regularity with which a battery on the other side of the river opened a smart fire whenever any portion of the troops happened to be under arms, although not seen by the enemy.

At last it was observed, that, before the fire commenced, a wind-mill, on the same side with the British, always put its wings in motion. This excited suspicion, and it was discovered that the miller had concerted signals with the enemy. The man was seized, and ordered to be hanged immediately, but, by the humane interference of Colonel Mackenzie, he was pardoned. Instances such as this are not perhaps sufficient to indicate the general feelings of a country, but so many occurred during this campaign, that it is not easy to withhold concurrence in the general opinion, that the Dutch were hostile to the British on every occasion when they could display that feeling with impunity.

to receive them. These they attacked and overthrew with the bayonet, reserving their powder till the enemy had fled beyond reach. An affair of such close fighting was soon decided, with a loss to the British of only 12 rank and file killed; 12 officers, 10 serjeants, 149 rank and file, wounded; of whom the Highlanders lost 7 rank and file killed; Major Malcom, Captains Hugh Munro and Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Bayley, Ensigns Martin, Cameron, (who died of wounds,) and 4 serjeants, and 56 rank and file, wounded. *

The enemy having advanced with an overpowering force, Nimeguen was evacuated on the 6th, and, on the 10th, the Highland regiment was removed to the 3d brigade or reserve, consisting of the 12th, Lieutenant-Colonel Perry Byron, 33d, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Wellesley, and the 42d, Major Dickson; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie.

In this position they lay till the 29th of December, when the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice, at Bommill. The right wing of the British immediately marched, and concentrated at Khiel, under the command of Major-General David Dundas, and, the same night, moved forward on a position of the enemy at Tuil, which, however, they evacuated on the approach of the British. Brevet-Major Mur-

* The greater part of the wounds were given by musketry, when the troops were advancing to the batteries. A musket-ball entered the outward edge of Captain Munro's left eye, and passing under the bridge of the nose through the right, carried away both eyes, without leaving the least mark or disfiguration, farther than the blank in the eyes shot away. He was quite well in a few weeks, and has since taught himself to write a short letter with much correctness, and to play on several musical instruments. He is now a judicious agriculturist, and spirited improver of his estate. As the Serjeant-Major leapt into the trenches, a ball struck him high up on the outside of the right thigh, passed down to the knee, and entering the left leg in the calf, came out at the ankle, but, as it touched no bone, it did not disable him above ten days, notwithstanding the circuitous direction it followed, running round so many bones.

ray, and some men of the light company 78th, were killed by a distant cannonade as the troops were advancing.

The army lay on the snow for two nights, and, on the 31st, were put into barns till they were removed to Gildermalsen, on which place the enemy advanced in force on the 5th of January 1795. The 78th was drawn up in two wings in front of the village, leaving the road open between the wings, and having the light company, with two howitzer guns, in advance. The 42d, in support, occupied the different avenues to the village; the 12th and 19th regiments were at some distance to the right, and the 33d, with a squadron of the 11th dragoons, in the advanced post of Meteren. The enemy made his attack with such vivacity, that the outposts were quickly driven in. A regiment of French Hussars, dressed in an uniform similar to that of the emigrant regiment of Choiseul in our service, pushed forward under cover of this deception, and galloped along the road, with great fury, crying "Choiseul, Choiseul." This so far succeeded, that they were allowed to get close to the advanced company of the 78th before the truth was discovered, when they were instantly attacked and checked, but not sufficiently to prevent a part pushing, at full speed, through the intervals between the two wings towards the village. Here they were met by the light company of the 42d, whose fire drove them back, and scattered them in an instant. When the attacking column of the enemy's infantry perceived that their cavalry had got through, beyond the first line, they advanced with great boldness, singing the Carmagnole March. The 78th reserved their fire till the enemy nearly closed upon them, when it was opened with such effect, that they were driven back in great confusion. The repulse of the cavalry and infantry was so complete and expeditious, that the loss of the Highlanders was trifling; * that of the 78th being Captain Duncan

* When the light troops and cavalry in advance were forced to retire, they left the guns in possession of the enemy, who pushed so far forward, that their cavalry got mixed with the light infantry, but a

Munro wounded, and a few soldiers killed and wounded. *

After this affair, the regiment accompanied the movements of the army throughout this campaign, and in the severe march to Deventer, the difficulty of which, occasioned by the depth of the falling snow, and the intense cold, has only been surpassed by the late disastrous campaign of the French in Russia. On the 28th of April they reached Bremen, embarked in a few days afterwards, and landed at Harwich on the 10th of May; and, after different movements, were, early in August, put under the command of the Earl of Moira, in the neighbourhood of Southampton, together with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments, preparatory to an expedition in support of the French Royalists in La Vendée.

I shall now return to the second battalion, ordered to be raised in February 1794. The following officers were appointed:

company of the 78th, under Lieutenant David Forbes, stationed a little to the right of the road, fired with such good aim, as to kill and wound many of the enemy, without touching any of our own people, although in the line of the fire.

* At this time one of those artifices was exhibited by which the French, on many occasions during the Revolutionary war, laid the foundation of their victories. An inhabitant, in one of the quarters, opened his stores, and sold liquor to the soldiers in large quantities, at a price so much below value as to create suspicion that the object was to intoxicate the soldiers, and render them incapable of resistance. This was confirmed in the morning by the apprehension of a man at the outposts, sent forward by the enemy to ascertain the effects of the stratagem. It is well known that the French frequently tampered with their enemy, and that they found individuals infamous enough to sacrifice their own honour, and the best interests of their country. But they have ever evinced their respect for the character of the British army, so far that there is not an instance in the late war of an attempt to seduce an officer from his duty. But, although this respect has been shown to the character of officers, the unhappy propensity of our soldiers to liquor was not thought proof against temptation, and might have succeeded in this instance, had not the issue of the liquor been checked.

*Lieutenant-Colonel commanding*, F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, 10th February 1794.
*Lieutenant-Colonel*, Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn.

*Majors.*

J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-General 1804, killed at Talavera.
Michael Monypenny, promoted to the 73d regiment. Dead.

*Captains.*

John H. Brown, killed.
Simon Mackenzie.
William Campbell, killed at Java in 1811.
John Mackenzie, Major-General 1813.
Patrick Macleod of Geanies, killed at El Hamet in 1807.
Hercules Scott of Benholm, killed in Canada, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 103d regiment, 1814.
John Scott.
John Macleod, Colonel 1813.

*Lieutenants.*

James Hanson.
Alexander Macneil.
Æneas Sutherland.
Murdoch Mackenzie.
Archibald C. B. Crawford.
Norman Macleod, now Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Scots.
Thomas Leslie.
Alexander Sutherland, senior.
Alexander Sutherland, junior.
P. Mackintosh.
John Douglas.
George Macgregor.
B. G. Mackay.
Donald Cameron.
James Hay.
Thomas Davidson.
William Gordon.
Robert Johnstone.
The Hon. William Douglas Halyburton, Colonel on half-pay.
John Macneil.
John Dunbar.

*Ensigns.*

George Macgregor, now Lieutenant-Colonel of the 59th regiment.
Donald Cameron.
John Macneil.
William Polson.
Alexander Wishart.

*Chaplain*, Charles Proby.
*Adjutant*, James Hanson.
*Quartermaster*, Alexander Wishart.

Of this battalion 560 were of the same country and character as the first, and 190 from different parts of Scotland. In August they embarked at Fort George for England, and

remained stationary there till April 1795, when six companies embarked in an expedition under Vice-Admiral Keith Elphinstone and Major-General James Henry Craig, for an attack on the Cape of Good Hope. After the capture of this colony, which was purchased with the loss of a few men killed, and Major Monypenny, Captain Hercules Scott, and five men, wounded, the battalion remained in garrison under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn.

I now return to the first battalion, which, as already mentioned, together with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments, was placed under the command of the Earl of Moira, and detached in August 1795, under Major-General W. Ellis Doyle, as the advance of a more considerable armament, to follow under his Lordship, to make an impression in favour of and support the Royalists in La Vendée. The Royalists had established a strong position at Quiberon, but they were unfortunately attacked by a great force, and overpowered, before the reinforcement from England arrived. Being thus unable to land in face of the numerous armies which the French had brought to the coast, the expedition landed on Isle Dieu, and established a post on that island, from whence they menaced different parts of the opposite coast, till January 1796, when the place was evacuated, and the troops returned to England. The 78th marched to Pool, where orders were received to embark for the East Indies. Both battalions were to be formed into one, and the junior officers of each rank to retire on full pay till otherwise provided for.

At this time Colonel Lord Seaforth resigned, retaining his rank in the army. On the 6th of March the regiment embarked at Portsmouth, and landed at the Cape of Good Hope on the 1st of June 1796. Both battalions were now consolidated, the supernumerary officers and men ordered home, and a very effective and healthy body of men (consisting of 970 Highlanders, 129 Lowlanders, and 14 Eng-

lish and Irish) formed, which sailed for Bengal on the 10th of November, (having previously witnessed the surrender of a large Dutch fleet at Saldanha Bay,) and, after a long passage, in which the scurvy made its appearance on board some of the ships, but not to a great extent, landed at Fort William on the 12th of February 1797, and, a few days afterwards, marched to Burhampore.

During six years' residence in different cantonments in Bengal, no material event occurred. The corps sustained throughout a character every way exemplary. The commanding officer's system of discipline, and his substitution of censure for punishment, attracted much attention. * Every friend of humanity, and of the honour of the British army, must earnestly wish that the same system were more generally adopted. It might, doubtless, be extended, by attention to the feelings and peculiar habits of men. If a sense of honour, national spirit, and pride, were once instilled and kept alive among them, the main point would be gained. When fully persuaded that the character and good name of their country were confided to their charge, they would feel the weight of such a responsibility, and would be convinced that courage is only one of the many virtues necessary to sustain and perpetuate the national honour.

In reference to Colonel Mackenzie Fraser's mode of discipline, I may add, that, in the twenty-five years during which the first battalion has been established, there has not been one desertion among the men enlisted in the Highlands. †

* The temperate habits of the soldiers, and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country, attracted the notice of all India. Their sobriety was such, that it was necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers.

† There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man, who brought shame

Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Fraser left India in 1800, and was succeeded in the command by Colonel J. Randoll Mackenzie, who also returned to England in 1802, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Adams; but in all these changes the system of discipline continued the same. In February 1803 the regiment embarked at Fort William in Bengal, and, landing at Bombay in April, were ordered to join the army commanded by Colonel John Murray. After some movements under this officer, the battalion was removed to the army commanded by Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, and placed in brigade with the 80th and the 1st European and 3d native battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Harness. Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace commanded the brigade formed of the 74th, with the same number of European and native regiments. The cavalry brigade, of the 19th light dragoons and native cavalry, were under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. Each corps of infantry and cavalry had two guns attached. A corps of pioneers, and a considerable force of Mysore and Mahratta horse, accompanied the army. The whole were well equipped for service, and had a sufficient supply of provisions. In short, no precautions were neglected to secure that success which soon distinguished its exertions. The order of march was equally well regulated. The line of baggage, an object of much importance in Indian warfare, kept close to the columns; both flanks and the rear being covered by corps of native horse. In this order the army commenced its march on the 2d of June 1803, and, after many delays, encamped, early in August, within eight miles of Ahmednaggur. On the 8th of the month General

on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much, that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character.* By the humane consideration of his commander, a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable.

Wellesley resolved to attempt the town by assault. The army was formed in three columns, the flank companies of the 74th and 78th Highlanders being the advanced guard. The other two columns were led by the battalion companies of the same corps. The latter met with little resistance, the principal efforts of the enemy being directed against the advanced guard, which had also to overcome a perplexing obstacle. The walls were high and narrow, without a rampart, or any place for the soldiers to obtain a footing on, after they had gained the top. Unable to advance, and disdaining to retreat, every man who had reached the top was killed on the spot; but, notwithstanding, the enemy were so intimidated, that they surrendered the town without farther resistance. The 78th regiment lost Captains F. Mackenzie Humberstone and Duncan Grant, Lieutenant Anderson, and 12 men, killed, and Lieutenant Larkins and 5 men wounded. *

After this service, the army resumed its forward movements. In the progress of many long and harassing marches, the General made arrangements so admirable and so easily comprehended, that no orders were given for halting or marching, or taking ground to the right or to the left, beyond the tap of a drum, or a signal from a bugle-horn. The troops were so well provided with supplies, and all movements so regulated, that the soldiers were never unnecessarily exposed; and, although many of the marches were very fatiguing, all impediments were so well guarded against, and foreseen, that on no occasion was it necessary to be on the march at unseasonable hours.

On the 21st of September the army found itself within a short march of two numerous bodies of the enemy, under

* On this occasion the spirit and animation of a subaltern of the 78th regiment particularly attracted General Wellesley's notice. He was appointed extra aid-de-camp the following day, and has ever since been in his family and confidence. It is remarkable that this officer, like his illustrious patron, has never been wounded, although present in every battle fought by the Duke of Wellington from Assaye to Waterloo.

the command of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. Colonel Stephenson, with a detachment of the Bombay army, was also within a day's march; and the two British commanders having met on the 22d, measures were concerted for a joint attack on the enemy, who, it was feared, would not hazard a general engagement. Each army continued its separate line of march; and, on the morning of the 23d, General Wellesley received intelligence that the enemy's cavalry were already on their retreat, and the infantry, then only distant a few miles, preparing to follow. The case being now too urgent to wait for Colonel Stephenson, the General ordered the troops to march instantly, while he himself hastened forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre. This little army had been already weakened by the separation of two battalions detached to Poonah, and a third left at Ahmednaggur. There now only remained the 19th dragoons, and the 4th, 5th, and 7th native cavalry; the 74th and 78th Highland regiments; with the first battalion of the 2d, the first battalion of the 4th, the first battalion of the 8th, the first battalion of the 10th, and the second battalion of the 12th native infantry; in all, about 4,700 men, with twenty-six field-pieces. When the leading division of the army reached within a short distance of the enemy's position, the line of battle was formed as follows: The first line consisted of the picquets of the army on the right, the 78th on the left, and the 8th and 10th native regiments in the centre; the second line was composed of the 74th regiment, with the 12th and 4th native battalions; the cavalry were in reserve in the third line.

To oppose this force the enemy was supposed to have one hundred pieces of cannon, and 30,000 men, including the light troops, who had gone out to forage in the morning, (and who were those reported to have marched,) but they returned before the close of the action. The infantry were dressed, armed, and accoutred in the same manner as the Seapoys in the Company's service, and well disciplined by French and other European officers. The

artillery was well served, and was observed to fire with considerable celerity. The two Rajahs, attended by their ministers, were in the field. The opposing armies were divided by the Kaitna, a small stream, with high banks and a deep channel, impassable to cavalry and guns, except at the fords. The enemy were drawn up on a rising ground, with the cavalry on the right, and their line extended to the village of Assaye on the left.

On General Wellesley's approach to reconnoitre, the enemy commenced a cannonade, the first shot of which killed one of the escorts. As the first attack was to be made on the enemy's left, it was necessary to cross a ford of the Kaitna considerably within reach of their cannon, which played with effect on the column of march. During this movement, the enemy's first line changed position to the left, to oppose a front to the intended attack. Their second line remained in their original position, by which means it was at right angles to the first. The first line of the British formed parallel to that of the enemy, separated about 500 yards, the left being directly opposite to the right of the enemy, and the second and third lines in the rear. During the formation of this order, the enemy's great guns fired with precision and rapidity, several of the shots piercing through the three lines to the rear. This was answered by the guns of the first line, which had already so many draught oxen disabled, that the men were obliged to draw the cannon.

The order of battle was now formed; and the picquets being named as the battalions of direction, the General ordered the line to advance in a quick pace, without firing a shot, but to trust all to the bayonet. This order was received with cheers, and instantly obeyed. It was soon perceived, however, that the leading battalion, composed of the picquets, had diverged from the line of direction, which made it necessary to halt the whole front line. This was a critical moment. The troops had got to the summit of a swell of the ground, which had previously sheltered their

advance, and the enemy, believing that the halt proceeded from timidity, redoubled their efforts, firing chain-shot and every missile they could bring to bear upon the line. General Wellesley, dreading the influence of this momentary halt on the ardour of the troops, rode up in front of a native battalion, and, taking off his hat, cheered them in their own language, and gave the word to advance again. This was also received with cheers, and instantly put in execution. When the 78th was within 150 yards of the enemy, they advanced in quick time, and charged. At this instant some European officers, in the service of the enemy, were observed to mount their horses and fly. The infantry, thus deserted by their officers, broke and fled with such speed, that few were overtaken by the bayonet: but the gunners held firm to their guns; many were bayoneted in the act of loading, and none gave way till closed upon by the bayonet.

After this charge, the 78th quickly reformed line, and, preparing to advance on the enemy's second line, wheeled to the right, thus showing a front to their left. During these operations on the left, the 74th pushed forward to the front, over an open plain, and suffered exceedingly from the fire of the enemy's artillery. They were the longer exposed to this destructive fire, from the difficulty they encountered of getting through a prickly-pear hedge. Many of the men having lost their shoes, their feet were much torn and pierced. In this state, exposed to the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, and with one-half of their number killed and wounded, a large body of the enemy's cavalry advanced to charge; but the rapid advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, with the 19th dragoons, gave a most timely support to this regiment. At this critical moment, he charged the enemy in flank, drove them off the field, and thus enabled the remains of the 74th to take up their position in the front line.

The first battalion of the 12th native infantry, who, at the same time, with great steadiness, had also advanced from the second line, suffered exceedingly. The army was now

in one line, the 78th on the left, and the 74th on its immediate right. The enemy kept up a heavy fire from the village, numbers coming up from the banks of the river Juah, and others who had thrown themselves on the ground as dead, and had been passed over by our men, now started up and gained possession of their own guns, which had been abandoned on the charge of our first line. From these they commenced a heavy fire from the rear, at the same time that a body of cavalry appeared on the left flank preparing to charge. To resist this, the left wing of the Highlanders was thrown back some paces on its right, and, at that instant, Lieutenant D. Cameron, who had been left with a party to protect two guns which could not be brought forward owing to their draught oxen being killed, now forced his way through, and joined his regiment most seasonably, when all were in anxious expectation of the farther orders of the General. This was an important moment, for it now seemed almost as if the battle had only commenced, or was to be fought over again. With an unbroken line of the enemy in front, keeping up a constant fire of cannon, flanked by batteries of round shot on their right, and grape from the rear, and with cavalry threatening the left; with all this in view, and exposed to so severe a trial, the silence and steadiness of the troops were highly honourable to their character. But they were not long kept in a state of suspense. The General ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's squadron on the left, (who did not wait the attack,) and, directing the line to attack to their front, led the 78th, the 19th dragoons, and 7th native cavalry to the rear, and attacked the enemy who had collected there in considerable force. Part of this force retreated, but in such good order, that one brigade stood the charge of the 19th light dragoons, in which Colonel Maxwell was killed. The Highlanders had considerable difficulty in clearing that part of the field to which they were opposed, and in recovering the cannon. The enemy made a strong resistance, forcing the regiment three times to

change its front, and to attack each party separately, none giving way till attacked; and while the regiment moved against one, the others kept up a galling fire which continued till the whole were driven off the field. At this time the cavalry, which had been detached by the enemy in the morning, returned; but, when a party of Mysore horse marched against them, they retreated, and the fire ceased entirely at half-past four o'clock.

Thus ended the battle of Assaye, the most desperate and best contested that ever was fought in India. On no occasion did the enemy display more bravery, or serve their guns with more precision, steadiness, and effect. The brilliancy of this victory will be more conspicuous, when we consider that it was gained over a force six times more numerous, that 98 pieces of cannon, and military stores in proportion, were taken on the field of battle, and that 1,200 men were killed, and 3,000 supposed to be wounded. The British loss was 21 officers killed, and 30 wounded. The 78th lost Lieutenant Douglas, and 27 rank and file, killed; Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Kinloch and Larkins, Ensign Bethune, 4 serjeants, and 73 rank and file, wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was knocked off his horse by the blow of a spent ball on the shoulder, but as he was able to remount and keep the field, he did not include himself in the list of wounded. Lieutenant Thomas Fraser was also slightly wounded. Indeed, there were only two officers of the regiment that escaped without some contusion or bruise, but, following the example of their commanding officer, their names did not appear among the wounded.

After the wounded and sick were settled in quarters, the army resumed active operations. A variety of movements and several partial skirmishes ensued, until the 29th of November, when the enemy were discovered drawn up in regular line of battle, on a plain in front of the village of Argaum. The troops moved forward, in one column, to the edge of the plain, in sight of the hostile army, which was

nearly equal in number to that at Assaye, but neither so well disciplined nor so well appointed; the artillery were also less numerous (being only 38 pieces) and less expert. General Wellesley's army, on the other hand, exceeded its former amount, having been reinforced by Colonel Stephenson's division, consisting of the 94th or Scotch Brigade, six native regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry. A small village lay between the head of the British columns and the enemy's line. The cavalry were ordered up, and formed in close column behind this village. The right brigade passed the village, and formed line in its front; and the other corps followed and formed in succession. The enemy were about 1,200 yards distant. The instant the leading picquet passed the village the enemy fired twenty pieces of cannon in one volley.

Courage in some men, individually as well as collectively, is a firm constitutional principle, equally steady and uniform in all situations, and not to be shaken by any unexpected assault or alarm. The courage of others, again, is sometimes ardent and enthusiastic, and may be led to the cannon's mouth; but not being an inherent principle of action, and depending often on contingencies, it is not constant, and may fail in moments of the greatest need. Here the native picquets, and two battalions which had been eminently distinguished at Assaye, only two short months before, were so panic-struck with this noisy reception, from the fire of twenty pieces of cannon, which in fact did no execution, that, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of their officers, they retired, in the utmost confusion, behind the village, leaving the picquets of the 78th and the artillery standing alone in the field. The 78th regiment instantly marched up and formed line with the picquets and artillery. Other corps also moved forward in succession, and, through the exertion of their officers, the battalions, which had retired, were also brought up again into line.

The army was drawn up in one line of fifteen battalions, the cavalry forming a reserve or second line, the 78th being

on the right, and next to them the 74th; and the 94th forming the left of the line. When this regiment (which was supported by the Mysore horse) reached and formed on their proper ground, the whole moved forward, the 78th directing its march against a battery of nine guns, which supported the enemy's left. As they approached, a body of 800 infantry rushed out from behind the battery, and, at full trot, made for the intervals between the 74th and 78th. Surprised at this daring advance, the regiments obliqued their march to close the interval, and with ported arms moved forward in quick time to meet their assailants. But a muddy deep ditch (before unperceived) intervened, and prevented an actual shock with the bayonet. The enemy, however, stood by the ditch, with a resolution almost unparalleled in Eastern troops, firing till their last man fell. The following morning upwards of five hundred dead bodies were found lying on the ground where these men had been drawn up. They were a party of desperate fanatics, who fought from a religious principle.

This was the only serious attempt made by the enemy. An attack was made by Scindia's cavalry on the left of Colonel Stephenson's division, but they were quickly repulsed by the 6th native infantry, and the whole line immediately gave way, leaving 38 pieces of cannon on the field, and was pursued beyond Argaum, where, the sun having now set, the infantry halted, but the cavalry continued the pursuit by moonlight, till nine o'clock. The victory was complete, and, unlike that of Assaye, was purchased with little loss, which fell principally on the 78th regiment.

Colonel Harness, compelled, by an illness of which he died some time afterwards, to resign the command of the right brigade, it devolved upon Colonel Adams; Major Hercules Scott, as field-officer of the day, commanding the picquets of the line, the command of the 78th regiment fell to Captain James Fraser.

No particular notice was taken of the conduct of the two Highland regiments at Assaye, where so much was done,

while at Argaum the General says of them, "The 74th and 78th deserved, and received, my thanks." *

On the 2d of December active operations recommenced, and, on the 13th, the strong fort of Gawelghur was taken by assault. This exploit concluded the hostile operations of this army against the enemy; but their fatigues, from marching and countermarching, were incessant, till the 20th July 1804, when the 78th reached Bombay. More men and officers fell sick in the last month than in the previous campaign. And, as it often happens, when troops are placed in a state of rest after an active campaign, they continued sickly for a considerable time.

In May 1805 five companies were ordered to Baroda in the Guzzerat, and in July a reinforcement of 100 recruits from Scotland was received. In the succession of reinforcements at different times, from the second battalion, from the Scotch Militia, and from recruiting parties, this regiment was uncommonly fortunate. At Goa, whither it had been removed from Bombay in 1807, it embarked for Madras in the month of March 1811, when the strength of the corps was 1,027, and only five men were left behind from sickness. Of these 835 were Highlanders, 184 Lowlanders, 8 English, and 9 Irish. But the numerical strength of this fine body of men was less to be estimated than their character, personal appearance, efficiency, and health. Upwards

* At the battle of Assaye, the musicians were ordered to attend to the wounded, and carry them to the surgeons in the rear. One of the pipers, believing himself included in this order, laid aside his instrument, and assisted the wounded. For this he was afterwards reproached by his comrades. Flutes and hautboys they thought could be well spared, but for the piper, who should always be in the heat of the battle, to go to the rear with the *whistlers*, was a thing altogether unheard of. The unfortunate piper was quite humbled. However, he soon had an opportunity of playing off this stigma, for, in the advance at Argaum, he played up with such animation, and influenced the men to such a degree, that they could hardly be restrained from rushing on to the charge too soon, and breaking the line. Colonel Adams was, indeed, obliged to silence the musician, who now, in some measure, regained his lost fame.

of 336 were volunteers from the Perthshire, and other Scotch Militia regiments, and 400 were drafts from the second battalion, which had been seasoned by a service of three years in the Mediterranean: Such was the stature of many of the men that, after the grenadier company was completed from the tallest men, the hundred men next in height were found too tall, and beyond the usual size of the light infantry.

The harmony which so frequently subsisted between Highland corps and the inhabitants of the countries where they have been stationed, has been frequently observed. In Goa it appears to have been the same as elsewhere. The Conde de Surzecla, Viceroy of Portuguese India, on the departure of the regiment from under his command, embraced the opportunity "to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the regular, orderly, and honourable conduct of his Britannic Majesty's 78th Highland Regiment, during the four years they have been under his authority, equally and highly creditable to the exemplary discipline of the corps, and to the skill of the excellent commander; and his Excellency can never forget the inviolable harmony and friendship which has always subsisted between the subjects of the Regent of Portugal, and all classes of this honourable corps."

The regiment did not land at Madras, but were placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, and formed part of the force intended for the conquest of Java. They sailed on the 30th of April 1811, the 78th being in the second brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams.

In August the fleet reached Batavia, and the army disembarked without opposition at Chilling-Chiny, a few miles east of the city. After some days passed in landing and in necessary preparations, the advance of the army, under Colonel Rollo Gillespie, moved forward, and, on the 8th, took possession of the city of Batavia, abandoned by the enemy, who retreated to Weltevreede. The army followed to Batavia on the 10th, while Colonel Gillespie, with

the advance, moved forward towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreede, from which they retired to a strong position two miles in front of Cornelis. This post was occupied by 8,000 of their best troops, and strengthened by an abbatis of felled trees. Colonel Gillespie made an immediate attack, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. The enemy made an obstinate resistance, but were completely routed, with the loss of all their guns. In this smart affair, "the flank companies of the 78th, (commanded by Captains David Forbes and Thomas Cameron,) and the detachment of the 89th, particularly distinguished themselves." Lieutenant John Munro and 13 men of the 78th were killed, and Captain Cameron and 22 men wounded.

The interval from the 10th to the 20th was occupied in preparing batteries against Cornelis. This was a level parallelogram of 1,600 yards in length, and 900 in breadth, having a broad and deep river running on one side, with ditches cut around the other three. The old fort of Cornelis stood on the bank of the river. To this fort six strong redoubts had been added by General Daendels. Each of these was mounted with cannon, and so situated, that the guns of the one commanded and supported the other. The space within was defended by traverses and parapets, cut and raised in all directions, and intended as a cover for the musquetry while the great guns fired over them. The whole were defended by 5,000 men. Besides the outward ditches, small canals had been cut, in different directions, within this fortified position. The attack was made on the 20th. Colonel Gillespie, with the flank battalions, supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th, and the Bengal Volunteers, were to attack the main front opposite Cornelis. The light company, under Captain David Forbes, and the grenadiers of the 78th, under Captain Donald Macleod, formed part of this attack. The battalion of the 78th, under Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell, were to push forward to the assault by the main road. Every attack was completely suc-

cessful. The enemy was forced from every traverse and defence, as the troops advanced, but not without strong resistance. By some strange oversight on the part of the Dutch, the ditch over which the battalion companies of the 78th had to pass was left dry. Captain James Macpherson pushed forward with two companies, and took possession of the dam-dike which kept back the water from the ditch, and prevented the enemy from cutting it. In this affair, Captain Macpherson was wounded in a personal rencountre with a French officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was mortally wounded as the regiment advanced to the ditch, which they crossed, and carried the redoubt and defences in their front, with a spirit and ardour which the enemy could not resist. After an obstinate contest, the enemy were overpowered, and retreated by the side of the camp which had not been attacked, leaving upwards of 1,000 men killed, and a great number wounded; while that of the British was only 91 rank and file killed, and 513 wounded. The 78th lost Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell, and 18 rank and file, killed; and Captains William Mackenzie and James Macpherson, Lieutenant Matheson, Ensign Pennycuik, 3 serjeants, and 62 rank and file, wounded. This conquest was soon followed by the surrender of the whole colony.

The regiment was stationed in different parts of the country till September 1816, when they embarked for Calcutta. During this period of four years, the men suffered exceedingly from climate. That fine body of men which, in 1811, had sailed from Madras 1,027 strong, was now greatly reduced in numbers; and, as often happens from sickness by climate, the stoutest and largest men had first fallen. The regiment was assembled at Batavia from the distant stations, and embarked on board the Frances Charlotte and another transport. The Charlotte, with six companies on board, had a favourable voyage till the morning of the 5th of November, when, at two o'clock, the ship struck on a rock, twelve miles distant from the small island of Prepares.

Fortunately, the weather was moderate; but the ship being under a press of sail, she struck with such force, that she stuck fast on the rock, and in fifteen minutes was filled with water to the main-deck.

Now was displayed one of those examples of firmness and self-command which are so necessary in the character of a soldier. Although the ship was in the last extremity, and momentarily expected to sink, there was no tumult, no clamorous eagerness to get into the boats: every man waited orders, and obeyed them when received. The ship rapidly filling, and appearing to be lodged in the water, and to be only prevented from sinking by the rock, all hope of saving her was given up. Except the provisions which had been brought up the preceding evening for the following day's consumption, nothing was saved. A few bags of rice, and a few pieces of pork, were thrown into the boats, along with the women, children, and sick, and sent to the island, which was so rocky, and the surf so heavy, that they had great difficulty in landing; and it was not until the following morning that the boats returned to the ship. In the meantime, a small part of the rock on which the ship lay was found dry at low water, and covered with little more than a foot of water at full tide. As many as this rock could admit of (140 men) were removed on a small raft, with ropes to fix themselves to the points of the rock, in order to prevent their being washed into the sea by the waves at high water. The highest part of the rock was about 150 yards from the ship. It was not till the fourth day that the boats were able to carry all in the ship to the island, while those on the rock remained without sleep, and with very little food or water, till the third day, when water being discovered on the island, a supply was brought to them.

During all this time the most perfect order and resignation prevailed, both on the island and on the rock. Providentially the weather continued favourable, or those on the rock must have been swept into the sea. In the evening of the fourth day,

the Prince Blucher, Captain Weatherall, and the Po, Captain Knox, appeared in sight, and immediately bore down to the wreck. They had scarcely taken the men from the rock, and begun to steer to the island, when it came on to blow a furious gale. This forced them out to sea. Being short of provisions, and the gale continuing with great violence, the commanders were afraid that they could not get back to the island in sufficient time to take the people on board, and reach a port, before the stock was expended, and therefore bore away for Calcutta, where they arrived on the 23d November. Two fast sailing vessels were instantly dispatched with provisions and clothes, and on the 6th of December made the island of Prepares. The people there were by that time nearly reduced to the last extremity. The allowance of provisions (a glass full of rice and two ounces of beef for two days to each person) was expended, and they had now only to trust to the shell-fish which they picked up at low water. These soon became scarce; and they had neither lines to catch fish, nor fire-arms to kill the birds and monkeys, the only inhabitants of the island, which is small and rocky, covered with low trees and brushwood. In this deplorable state, the men continued as obedient, and the officers had the same authority, as on parade. Every privation was borne in common. Every man who picked up a live shell-fish carried it to the general stock, which was safe from the attempts of the half-famished sufferers. Nor was any guard required. However, to prevent any temptations, centinels were placed over the small store. But the precaution was unnecessary. No attempt was made to break the regulations established, and no symptoms of dissatisfaction were shown, except when they saw several ships passing them without notice, and without paying any regard to their signals. These signals were large fires, which might have attracted notice when seen on an uninhabited island. Captain Weatherall required no signal. He met with some boards and other symptoms of a wreck, which had floated to sea out of sight of the island, and, suspecting what had hap-

pened, immediately steered towards it. To his humanity, the safety of the people on the rock may, under Providence, be ascribed; for, as the violence of the gale was such as to dash the ship to pieces, leaving no part visible in a few hours, the men must have been swept off the rock at its commencement.

Five men died from weakness; several were drowned in falling off the kind of raft made to convey them from the ship to the rock; and some were drowned by the surf in going on shore: in all, fourteen soldiers and two Lascars were lost. Unfortunately, the gale that destroyed the ship blew off the island, so that no part of the wreck floated on shore. Had it been otherwise, some things might have been carried back to the island.

The vessels which took the men off this island had an expeditious passage back to Calcutta, where they landed on the 12th of December: After the men had been refreshed and new clothed, they embarked for England, in the end of February 1817, on board the Prince Blucher, Captain Weatherall, to whose humanity they in a great measure owed their lives. They sailed on the 1st of March, and landed in Portsmouth in June. From thence they embarked for Aberdeen, and in a few weeks were removed to Ireland.

At this time a report was pretty generally spread that the three Highland regiments, the 42d, 78th, and 92d, had been ordered out of Scotland, under a conviction that they were not to be trusted at a time when disturbances were expected in Glasgow and other manufacturing towns. This unfounded and malicious report must have originated in what was considered to be an unexpected removal of those national corps to Ireland, particularly the removal of the 78th, in a few weeks subsequent to their return to their native country, after a course of honourable service, and after an absence of twenty-three years, without having had an opportunity of seeing their friends and their kindred. The character of these soldiers is now too well established to

admit of any distrust or want of confidence in their performance of their duty. The honour and good name of a soldier ought to be like the virtue of Cæsar's wife, not only pure, but unsuspected. The honour of Highland soldiers has hitherto been well supported, and Ross-shire has to boast that the 78th has all along maintained the honourable character of their predecessors. All those who value the character of a brave and virtuous race may look with confidence to this corps, as one of the representatives of the military and moral character of the peasantry of the mountains. In this regiment, twenty-three have been promoted to the rank of officers during the war. Merit thus rewarded will, undoubtedly, have its due influence on those who succeed them in the ranks.

*List of Killed and Wounded in the Ross-shire Highlanders, from* 1793 *to* 1815.

| BATTLES, ASSAULTS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Pipers and Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Pipers and Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Nimeguen, 4th November 1794, | | | | | | 7 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 56 |
| Tuil, December, - - | 1 | | | | | 3 | | | | | | 4 |
| Gildermalsen, January 1795, - | | | | | | 4 | | 1 | | | | 7 |
| Cape of Good Hope, - - - | | | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 4 |
| Ahmednaggur, 8th of January 1803, | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 12 | | | 1 | 1 | | 13 |
| Assaye, 23d September —— - | | | 1 | | 1 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 73 |
| Argaum, 29th November —— - | | | | | | 9 | | | | | | 21 |
| Skirmishes in this Campaign, - | | | | | | 7 | | | | | | 19 |
| Weltevreede, Batavia, 10th of August 1811, | | | 1 | | | 13 | | 1 | | | | 22 |
| Cornelis, 20th —— - - | 1 | | | | 1 | 18 | | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 62 |
| | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 3 | 103 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 281 |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

Tuil, 1794, Major G. Murray.
Ahmednaggur, 8th June 1803, Capt. T. B. Mackenzie Humberstone.
Duncan Grant.
Lieut. James Anderson.
Assaye, 23d Sept. —— Lieut. James Douglas.
Weltevreede, 10th August 1811, Lieut. John Munro.
Cornelis, 20th ——— —— Lieut.-Colonel William Campbell.

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

Bommill Wart, October 1794, Lieutenant Archibald Christie.
Major Malcom.
Nimeguen, 4th November 1794, Captain Hugh Munro.
Colin Mackenzie.
Lieut. George Bayley.
Ensign Martin Cameron, died of his wounds.
Gildermalsen, January 1795, Captain Duncan Munro.
Cape of Good Hope, 1795, Major Monypenny.
Captain Hercules Scott.
Ahmednaggur, June 1803, Lieutenant Larkins.
Assaye, 23d September 1803, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams.
Captain Alexander Mackenzie.
Lieut. Kinloch.
Larkins.
Ensign Joseph Bethune.
Weltevreede, 10th August 1811, Captain Donald Cameron.
Cornelis, 20th ——— —— Captain William Mackenzie.
James Macpherson.
Lieut. William Mathieson.
Ensign John Pennycuik.

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## SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT,

## OR

## CAMERON HIGHLANDERS.

### 1793.

THIS respectable regiment was the second raised in this war. On the 17th of August 1793, letters of service were granted to Allan Cameron of Errach, for the purpose of

raising a corps of Highlanders. To regiments embodied in this manner, Government generally allowed a bounty, but under no certain regulation, being higher or lower, according to time and circumstances. But, in this instance, no bounty whatever was given, and the men were recruited at the sole expence of Mr Cameron and his officers. How well they succeeded in the execution of this task appeared by the rapid completion of the corps. It was inspected at Stirling in February 1794, and embodied under the number and denomination of the 79th or Cameron Highlanders. Mr Cameron was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant. The success of this first effort encouraged him to proceed; and, in a short time, the corps was completed to 1,000 men.

Not having been able to procure any detailed account of the movements and service of this regiment, beyond such a general sketch as must be familiar to all readers, as well as to military men, I shall, therefore, only state that it was employed in the campaign of 1794 and 1795 in Flanders; and that in the summer of the latter year it embarked for the West Indies. A duty of two years in Martinique reduced the strength of the corps considerably.—In July 1797, a proposition was made to the men to volunteer into other regiments. Such of them as chose to return to Europe were to join the 42d regiment, then under orders to embark, and those who preferred the West Indies were at liberty to make choice of any regiment destined to continue on that station. The officers, and non-commissioned officers, were to return to Scotland to recruit for another battalion. Many of the men chose to remain in the West Indies. Those who preferred the 42d (amounting to 210 men) came home in 1797, and in such good health, that five companies of 100 men each, including the men of both corps, landed at Portsmouth on the 31st of August, in perfect health. It has already been mentioned, that when the report of the regiment was sent on shore, on the arrival of the ships at Portsmouth, it was supposed that

the number of sick had been omitted through mistake, and no small surprise was expressed when the correctness of the report was ascertained.

Colonel Cameron and his officers came home in the same fleet, and were immediately ordered to Scotland to recruit. Great exertions were now made, (although there was less inducement on the part of the officers, who obtained no rank for their exertions, as their predecessors had done,) and, in an especial manner, Colonel Cameron himself was so zealous and successful, that, in the year 1798, a fresh body of 780 men was assembled at Inverness, and afterwards formed a part of the expedition of 1799 to the Helder. The loss in this service, as well as all others in which the regiment was engaged with the enemy, will be seen in the annexed lists of killed and wounded, which show, at one view, the actions in which the corps was engaged, and the total loss sustained from the beginning to the conclusion of the war. *

In 1800 the regiment was embarked for Ferrol, under Lieutenant-General Sir James Pultney. From thence they proceeded to join the force under Sir Ralph Abercromby, off Cadiz, and accompanied the expedition to the Mediterranean and to Egypt. †

* See Appendix.

† In the action of the 21st of March, near Alexandria, Lieutenant Patrick Ross was wounded, and his arm amputated close to the shoulder. By a good habit of body, and an excellent constitution, he rapidly recovered, and, with a spirit equally honourable and exemplary, he refused the leave of absence offered him to go home for the cure of his wound. Eager to be at his post, he joined his regiment before the skin had closed over the amputated limb; and, on the 25th of April, less than five weeks after his arm was cut off, he mounted picquet, and continued to perform every duty, however fatiguing, during the whole campaign, in the course of which, at Rhamanieh, he had nearly lost his other arm, a six-pound shot having passed under it as he was in the act of giving directions to his men. On many, indeed all occasions, he displayed the same spirit; and the Duke of York, with that attention which he has always shown to merit, when made known to him, promoted Lieutenant Ross to a company in the 69th, at the head of which he was killed at the storming of Fort Cornelis in Java in 1811,

In 1804 a second battalion was added to the regiment, the officers raising men for their promotion. This was an excellent and efficient corps of young men, of good morals and healthy constitutions, and formed an excellent nursery of recruits for the first battalion, which was for several

on which occasion he was animated with the same enthusiastic zeal and heroic bravery.

Those who have faith in the hereditary influence of blood, will also believe that this young man had a hereditary predisposition to firmness and bravery. His father, Mr William Ross, late tacksman of Brae in Ross-shire, evinced similar qualities in very early life. In the summer of 1746, when so many gentlemen who had been engaged in the Rebellion were forced to take shelter in the woods and mountains, and when the troops were quartered on their estates, Ross of Pitcalney, a chieftain of the clan, was an object of more than ordinary search, having joined the rebels in opposition to the remonstrances and threats of his uncle, the Lord President Forbes. As no concealment from the people was necessary, Pitcalney was in the habit of sleeping in bad weather in his tenants' houses, but always going to one or other of his hiding-places before day-light, in case of a search of the house by the troops. One night he slept in the farm-house of Brae, and remaining later in the morning than ordinary, Mr Ross, then a lad of fifteen, was directed by his father to accompany Pitcalney through the most unfrequented parts of the woods, in case the troops should be stirring at that late hour of the day. The lad had performed his task, and was returning home, when he met a party of soldiers, who knew him, and, suspecting where he had been, questioned him very sharply about his knowledge of Pitcalney's retreat. He pleaded total ignorance, and persisting in doing so, they threatened to shoot or hang him on the next tree, which in those times was the most usual mode of extorting confession. But threats having no effect, they proceeded to action, and tied him up to a tree, placing four men before him with their pieces ready to fire if he still denied what they were sensible he knew. But all in vain; neither the fear of death, nor the previous preparation, which, to a boy of his age, must have been sufficiently trying, could induce him to betray the friend and landlord of his father. So strong were the principles of affection and regard to promise and to principle instilled thus early by the instructions of his parents, and the example of his countrymen. The party, either respecting the boy's firmness, or not wishing to carry matters to extremity, released and allowed him to go home. When he told the story he always concluded, "When I shut my eyes waiting to be shot, I expected to open them again in Heaven." Such was the father of that brave soldier Captain Patrick Ross.

years actively employed, and constantly requiring a regular supply for the consumption occasioned by the usual casualties of war.

In 1808 the regiment embarked for Portugal, and, entering Spain under Sir John Moore, accompanied all his movements till his fall at Corunna. In the following autumn they embarked for Zealand, under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, and suffered so little in this unfortunate expedition, in which so many thousands of our best soldiers fell a sacrifice to the climate, that in a few months the corps was again efficient, and in 1810 sailed for Spain.

The returns of killed and wounded will indicate the successive engagements in which they bore a conspicuous share, till the battle of Toulouse, * on which important occasion the steady bravery of this corps was most eminently displayed, as, indeed, it had been in every instance in which, during the preceding campaigns, they came in contact with the enemy. At Fuentes de Honor, on the 3d of May 1811, they highly distinguished themselves, and mainly contributed to repulse one of the formidable columns sent forward by Massena in his reiterated and desperate assaults on that village. † The same observation applies to their

* The very distinguished part this regiment had in the conquest and subsequent defence of the batteries on the heights of Toulouse, will be found under the head of the 42d Regiment.

† At Fuentes de Honor Colonel Cameron lost his eldest son, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Cameron, a young officer of talents and professional promise.

At Bergen in 1799 the regiment lost Captain James Campbell of Duntroon, who, with great intelligence, an open and generous mind, and a personal appearance the most prepossessing, exhibited in every view, according to the opinion of an old Highlander,—a perfect model of one of the heroes described by Ossian. In Egypt Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall died of his wounds. Major Lawrie was killed at Burgos, and Captain Purves at Toulouse. These were officers whom their regiment and friends had much cause to lament.

Colonel Cameron's second son, a Major of his regiment, died of sickness caught in the service, but the veteran himself, who entered the army at an advanced period in life, never lost one day's duty with his

conduct at the passage of the Nive in December 1813, when the cool and well-directed fire of this regiment was more destructive to the enemy than almost any similar instance of the kind during these campaigns.

On the termination of hostilities, the regiment embarked at Bourdeaux for England, and in 1815 was again ordered to serve in Flanders. At Quatre Bras, where their discipline and military qualities were put to a severe proof, they supported the reputation which they had acquired at Fuentes de Honor and Toulouse, and had their full share in the duties of that hard-fought day. In this battle, which laid so good a foundation for the great victory which soon ensued, the regiments were frequently compelled to fight separately, each on its own ground, independently of the support of others, the enemy pouring down in separate columns of attack on the different corps as they reached the ground, so that each regiment had to stand or fall by its own individual exertions. In these trials of courage and firmness the Cameron Highlanders were uniformly successful. Not satisfied with repelling the enemy, they followed up the blow, and drove them off the ground, yet, at the same time, preserved such regularity of formation, that they were prepared for every fresh attack. These attacks were repeated, and received sometimes in position;—at other times they advanced to meet the charge of the French infantry, who never stood the onsét. The cavalry were received in squares, and with equal success. It is remarkable, that, on this day, the enemy never combined their different arms. When the infantry advanced, the cavalry were at a distance, who again pushed forward in their turn, but never in any combined

regiment when any service was to be performed, till his promotion rendered his regimental duty incompatible with his rank of Major-General. He accompanied his regiment to Flanders, to the West Indies, to Holland, Egypt, Portugal, and Spain, at a period of life when men of less strength of mind, and of common constitutions and habits, would have been incapable of encountering such changes of climate, and such exhausting duties.

effort. If the cavalry had followed close upon the attacks of the infantry, and made their charge so immediately succeeding the repulse of the latter, as to prevent the proper formation of a square, our troops must have found a greater difficulty in presenting a proper resistance to such bold and experienced squadrons.

At Waterloo, this regiment was in Major-General Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d regiments, and formed the centre of Lieutenant-General Picton's division. The 32d and 79th were stationed 150 yards in rear of a hedge occupied by a corps of Belgians and part of the rifle brigade. About two hours after the commencement of the battle, three heavy columns of the enemy, preceded by artillery and sharp-shooters, advanced with a seeming determination to take possession of the hedge. The Belgians fired a volley, and retreated in great confusion. The 32d, 79th, and rifle corps, instantly pushed forward, occupied the ground left by the Belgians, and, forming upon the hedge, fired a volley, and charged, as the enemy was deploying into line. This threw them into confusion. They then made an attempt to get towards their right, but were received by the 28th, who made a desperate attack upon the right of the enemy as they advanced. The other two regiments pursued their advantage, each attacking the column opposed to them, till at length the enemy gave way in the greatest confusion. At this moment General Picton was killed, and General Kempt severely wounded; but the latter never left the field. Like his old commander, Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom he had been confidential secretary, he allowed no personal consideration to interfere with his duty; and, although unable to sit on horseback from the severity of the wound, he would not allow himself to be carried away from his soldiers, whose situation, pressed by a brave and powerful enemy, required every assistance from his presence and talents.

The enemy, anxious to gain the position behind the hedge, repeated their attempts, but every attempt was repulsed. It was less, however, by these desperate attacks of

the enemy, than by the cannonading and skirmishing of sharpshooters, that the regiment suffered. An enemy who is so quickly driven back will seldom fire steadily. Not so with the artillery and sharpshooters, whose distance enables them to take a better and cooler aim. This regiment, which had been warmly engaged on both days, suffered severely; but what they lost in numbers was compensated by the honour which, in common with other corps they acquired in this decisive battle.

The regiment remained some time in France, and returned to Britain in 1818. As they had been more successful in recruiting than any other Highland corps, and as a number of the old and disabled men have been discharged, two-thirds of those who now compose the regiment are in the prime of life, active and efficient. Although the Highlanders have not lately enlisted readily in their own country, an officer of this regiment enlisted nearly 200 young men in Edinburgh and Glasgow in a few weeks. They had come up from the North in search of work; and, having been unsuccessful, they engaged with him.

The casualties will, in all probability, be so few for many years, that they will easily be supplied, and none but good men received. The annexed return shows the number of killed and wounded. There are also 342 discharged men on the strength of Chelsea Hospital, receiving pensions for length of service, and from being disabled by wounds or disease. But many of the pensioners have suffered so little, that they have again been called to serve in veteran battalions.

The number of soldiers killed, from 1793 to the peace of 1814, has been 89; and at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, 55; in all, 144, down to the final peace of 1815, an eventful period of twenty-two years' warfare, in the course of which this regiment bore an active share, in Europe, Africa, and the West Indies.

In the Appendix is a statement of the number killed and wounded in each engagement, with the names of the officers.

## NINETY-SEVENTH,

## OR

## STRATHSPEY REGIMENT.

### 1794.

I SHALL have occasion to mention an early offer made by the Laird of Grant, in 1793, along with the Duke of Gordon, the Marchioness of Stafford, and the Earl of Breadalbane, to raise Fencible regiments in the Highlands. As soon as Sir James Grant's Fencible regiment was embodied, he made further proposals to raise a regiment for general service. After the exertions recently made to complete the Grant Fencibles, this was an arduous undertaking.

The difficulty soon appeared. Though the corps was numerically completed to 1,000 men within the stipulated time, all of them were not of that class which formed the Fencible corps. The lieutenant-colonel, major, and others of the officers, were not natives of the north, and without local knowledge or influence; their commissions depending on their success in recruiting, their principal object was to procure a sufficient number capable of passing muster, and, as money in manufacturing towns effected what influence did in the north, many men were recruited whose character and constitutions could bear no comparison with men of regular and hardy habits raised in the agricultural districts. However, there was a proportion of very good men: the flank companies were excellent.

The regiment was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and numbered the 97th; and thus a private gentleman added 1,300 soldiers to the force of the country, besides those raised by the officers in the southern districts. From this, and several other instances at this period, we may, without going back to the

days of chiefs and clansmen, estimate the great importance of family, territorial, and personal influence. When exercised by such men as the late Sir James Grant, honourable, humane, and hospitable in his private character, and a kind, generous landlord to a numerous and grateful tenantry, Great Britain may calculate on commanding the willing services of the youth of the mountains.

The 97th was ordered to the south of England in 1794, and served a few months as marines on board Lord Howe's fleet in the Channel. In autumn 1795, the men and officers were drafted into different regiments, and the two flank companies turned over to the 42d, when preparing to embark for the West Indies.

## NINETY-EIGHTH, OR ARGYLESHIRE HIGHLANDERS,

### NOW THE NINETY-FIRST REGIMENT.

### 1794.

On the 10th of February 1794, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell of Lochnell received letters of service to raise a regiment in Scotland, with permission to select his officers: he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

The regiment was embodied at Stirling in the autumn of that year. I know not exactly how many men were from the Highlands; but, judging from the Captains of companies, of whom seven were of the name of Campbell, besides two others natives of Argyle, the proportion must have been considerable. The regiment was early removed to the Cape of Good Hope, and remained there till that colony was restored to the Dutch in 1801. In 1798 the number was altered to the 91st, and in 1809 the Highland garb was discontinued; consequently, the future movements do

not come within my plan. As no county is more purely Highland than Argyle, which comprehends every characteristic of mountains, glens, and language, it has excited some surprise that such a district could not supply a sufficient number of men, and that the garb of the Gael should be taken away from the regiment of a county which has, both in ancient and modern times, produced so many Highland warriors of talent and celebrity, and of as true Celtic origin as any race in Gaelic history.

The regiment formed a part of the army under Lord Wellington, and in the actions from the Pyrenees to Toulouse was actively engaged. On the latter occasion, the support given by this regiment to the 42d, when attacked by overwhelming numbers, was as prompt as it was effectual. *

* A soldier of this regiment deserted, and emigrated to America, where he settled. Several years after his desertion, a letter was received from him, with a sum of money for the purpose of procuring one or two men to supply his place in the regiment, "as the only recompense he could make for "breaking his oath to his God, and his allegiance to his King, which preyed on his conscience in such a manner, that he had no rest night nor day."

This man had had good principles early instilled into his mind, and the disgrace which he had been originally taught to believe would attach to a breach of faith now operated with full effect. The soldier who deserted from the 42d regiment at Gibraltar, in 1797, exhibited the same remorse of conscience after he had violated his allegiance. In countries where such principles prevail, and regulate the character of a people, the mass of the population may, on occasions of trial, be reckoned on as sound and trust-worthy.

## NINETY-SECOND,

## OR

## GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

### 1794.

WHATEVER notions might have been entertained regarding the loyalty of the family of Gordon, in the year 1715, when the Marquis of Huntly was an active leader in opposition to the Government of that time, or in the year 1745, when Lord Lewis, the Duke of Gordon's brother, was equally zealous in the same cause, and in supporting, what he believed, the just claims of an unfortunate Prince; the loyalty and patriotism of the present representative of this great family, which has, for upwards of four hundred years, been so distinguished in the annals of Scotland, and particularly of the Highlands, have made ample atonement for those ebullitions of attachment to a legitimate but expatriated race of Princes, evinced by former members of the Gordon family.

Soon after the reign of Robert Bruce this family became powerful in the North. By the extinction of the Cummings, (of whom there were thirty-two Noblemen and Barons in that reign,) the Gordons acquired large possessions in Badenoch and Strathspey, in addition to those which they had previously held in the Lowlands of Elgin, Banff, and Aberdeen; possessions which were greatly increased and extended in the Highlands by those of the Lords of the Isles, part of whose estates, in Lochaber, came into their hands by purchase and by royal grants, on the failure of that great and powerful family. In this manner the Gordons acquired a property extending from the east coast of Scotland to Inverlochay on the west; indented here and there by the lands of several smaller proprietors, but not so entirely as to prevent a circuitous line being drawn, so as to connect the

Gordon estate, without interruption, from the Atlantic on the west to the German Ocean on the east. This extensive territory, with its numerous population, secures to the Duke of Gordon an influence which few British subjects enjoy. His feudal power was indeed small in proportion to the number of people and the extent of territory. The patriarchal sway of the chiefs of families, or, as they were called, natural-born chiefs of their own blood, superseded the authority of the feudal lord of whom several chiefs and lairds held their lands. Independently of any vassalage or subjection, these chiefs commanded their own followers, acknowledging no power as superior except that of the Sovereign. But although they did not publicly acknowledge a superior power in the Chief of the Gordons of whom they held, they, on many occasions, allowed him to influence their actions, particularly if his measures did not run counter to their peculiar feelings and political prejudices. Thus, in 1715, a number of the Badenoch and Lochaber Highlanders were ready to follow the Marquis of Huntly in support of the claims of the exiled Royal Family; but, when the father of the present Duke of Gordon attempted to call out his people in arms to support Government, in the year 1745, none of the Highlanders of his estates moved, except to follow their own immediate Chiefs and Lairds, all of whom took the opposite side. In this manner, many of the Duke's vassals and tenants were, at Culloden, opposed to his brother, Lord Adam Gordon, who was in the Duke of Cumberland's army. But although these peculiarities lessened the power of the Gordon family, (so far as regarded the command of men,) in comparison of the families of Atholl and Argyll, each of which could assemble in the field three thousand men, supported by as many more of their adherents and friends; yet the influence of this family has ever been pre-eminent. Personal ascendancy frequently ruled where feudal powers would have been disregarded. In later times, when the feudal system had ceased to exist, we have seen many instances of this influence.

It will be seen that three regiments were raised by the influence of this family in the years 1759, 1779, and 1793. The last, being a Fencible corps, the Marquis of Huntly, then a Captain in the 3d Foot Guards, offered to raise a regiment for more extended service. For this purpose he received letters of service on the 10th of February 1794. On recollecting the celerity with which regiments have at various times been assembled in the north, and in endeavouring to account for the fact, I have been led to assign different causes; on the present occasion, it is only necessary to say that the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, and the Marquis of Huntly, recruited in their own persons. On the 24th of June the corps was inspected at Aberdeen, by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and embodied under the denomination of the Gordon Highlanders. Three-fourths of the men were from the estates of Gordon and others in the Highlands; the other fourth was from the Lowlands of Aberdeen and the adjacent counties. The following list will show the original officers.

*Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant*, George Marquis of Huntly, 10th of February 1794.

*Majors.*

Charles Erskine of Cardross, killed in Egypt in 1801.
Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, died in 1795.

*Captains.*

Alexander Napier of Blackstone, killed at Corunna in 1809.
John Cameron, Fassafern, killed at Quatre Bras 16th June in 1815.
Honourable John Ramsay, son of Lord Dalhousie, Colonel on half-pay.
Andrew Paton, retired.
William Mackintosh of Aberarder, killed in Holland in 1799.
Alexander Gordon, son of Lord Rockville, killed at Talavera in 1808, Lieutenant-Colonel 83d regiment.
Simon Macdonald of Morar, retired, dead.
*Captain-Lieutenant*, John Gordon, retired as Major.

*Lieutenants.*

Peter Grant, died in 1817 Major on half-pay.
Archibald Macdonell, died in 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel of Veterans.

Alexander Stewart, Lieutenant-Colonel on half-pay.
John Maclean, Colonel, ditto.
Peter Gordon, died 1806.
Thomas Forbes, killed at Toulouse in 1814, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 43th regiment.
Ewen Macpherson, Lieutenant-Colonel Veterans.
George H. Gordon.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Dowle, died of wounds in Egypt in 1801.
George Davidson, killed at Quatre Bras in 1815, then Captain in the 42d regiment.
Archibald Macdonald, retired.
Alexander Fraser, killed 2d October 1799.
William Todd, retired.
James Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment in 1815.

*Chaplain,* William Gordon.
*Adjutant,* James Henderson, died in 1796.
*Quartermaster,* Peter Wilkie, died in 1806.
*Surgeon,* William Findlay, died in Egypt in 1801.

That this body of men were what is usually called serviceable, has been proved in a course of twenty-four years of unremitting employment, in almost every part of Europe, where the British army has been called into action. Moral, well principled, and brave, they have never failed in any kind of duty entrusted to them, and on several occasions, where an opportunity offered, they have, by their uniform intrepidity and firmness in the field, contributed to raise the military character of their native districts. Few of the men, who laid the foundation of the character of this corps, which has been so well sustained, now remain in the regiment; but although they have disappeared, and given place to others, their example has been powerful in its effects, and will no doubt be permanent in its operations. No good soldier of the Gordon Highlanders will tarnish the fair fame so nobly obtained, and so steadily upheld by his predecessors. It is well known that corps, who have been unfortunate in the field, or defective in their interior economy, require much time, judgment, and unwearied attention, to restore them to a proper state. On the other hand, the management must indeed be deplorably bad which lowers the

character of a corps, whose good name has been long established. So strong is the motive which impels a good soldier to preserve the reputation of his corps, that nothing but the destruction of his own sense of shame, and the utter loss of all principle, will ever make him resist it; or, if he wavers, it is when he is affected by the force of example, and when he sees men of loose habits, and careless of their own honour and that of the corps, introduced into the ranks. The 92d regiment has not suffered this misfortune, for their different reinforcements have always been composed of excellent materials. Although their original Colonel has been removed, they are connected with him by many kindly ties. By many considerations of vital importance, he is powerfully induced to watch over the preservation of that poor, but virtuous peasantry, whose sons have so frequently filled the ranks of his family regiments; and if high example, and a generous regard to their happiness and independence, can avert the extirpation of the ancient race, it is such men as the Duke of Gordon and the Marquis of Huntly that can effect so desirable an object, and check the engrossing and depopulating system, which is rapidly placing many districts in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, and lowering the condition, breaking the spirit, or extirpating the whole race of the ancient peasantry.

It may, probably, appear to some that I recur too frequently to the necessity of preserving the people independent, moral, and loyal; but the extreme importance of the subject must plead my apology. A population which has filled the ranks and supported the character of the Gordon Highlanders deserves some consideration, if not protection, and better treatment than expulsion from their native country, to say nothing of the scurrility with which the morals, religion, and character of the Highlanders are assailed. * The ranks of this regiment have not been al-

* In the reports of some religious societies recently published, the Highlanders are characterized as being guilty of "the basest vices,"—as "Christians only by name,"—as "Savage Heathens," &c. &c.

ways filled with men from the same part of the country, but ever since the organization of the corps, the proportion has continued so equal, that the same characteristic traits and habits have been uniformly preserved.

But to return to the military service of the corps. From Aberdeen they marched to Fort George, embarked there on the 9th of July 1794, and, landing at Southampton in August, were ordered to join the camp on Netley Common. It was not until that period that the Gordon Highlanders were put on the list of numbered corps as the 100th regiment.

On the 5th of September they embarked, under the command of Colonel Lord Huntly, for Gibraltar, and performed the usual duties of that garrison till the 11th June 1795, when they were removed to Corsica, and stationed in that island, having a detachment in Elba. In September 1796, they returned to Gibraltar, and resumed their former station and duty till the spring of 1798, at which time they embarked for England, landed at Portsmouth in the middle of May, and were soon after embarked for Ireland. During the unhappy troubles in that country, the regiment was actively employed, and was kept in constant motion, till the re-establishment of tranquillity. In the whole of this service, as well as in the garrison duties of Gibraltar and Corsica, they received unvarying testimonials of high approbation from every commander. The similarity of language in which all express themselves, indicates an undeviating line of conduct on the part of the regiment, which was "exemplary in all duties, sober, orderly, and regular in quarters." In an address to the Marquis of Huntly, by the magistrate and inhabitants, on leaving one of the stations in Ireland, it was said, that "peace and order were established, rapine had disappeared, confidence in the Government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted, since his regiment came among them."

While this honourable body of men received such high marks of approbation, and secured the esteem of the commanders whom they obeyed, and of the people whom they

were unhappily sent to coerce, they had not yet had an opportunity of proving what indeed required no proof,—that as they were trust-worthy and steady in quarters, they would be equally brave and firm in the field. This, however, happened in the course of the following year. In June 1799, they were ordered to Cork, to embark for England, and join an armament preparing there for a descent on the coast of Holland.

Some months previous to this, the late 91st, 92d, and other regiments, were reduced; on which account, the number of the Gordons was changed from the 100th to the 92d, under which they have often distinguished themselves, and on twenty-five occasions, in which they met the enemy, (several of these, to be sure, were very trifling affairs, while others were very desperate,) from 1799 to 1815, the latter invariably gave way before them. This fact has, in a very particular manner, attracted the notice of the brave and experienced enemy to whom this country was so long opposed.

The first division of the expedition to the Helder sailed from Ramsgate on the 11th of August, but, owing to tempestuous weather, a landing was not effected till the morning of the 27th. No opposition was made to the landing, but the troops had scarcely formed on a ridge of sand hills, at a short distance from the beach, when the enemy made an attack in which they persevered till five o'clock in the evening, at which time they retired, after a hard contest. The 92d, which formed part of Major-General Moore's brigade, was not engaged, but, in the great action of the 2d of October, they had an active share; their conduct being so much to the satisfaction of General Moore, that, when he was made a Knight of the Bath, and obtained a grant of supporters for his armorial bearings, he took a soldier of the Gordon Highlanders, in full uniform, as one of these supporters, and a lion as the other.

As I have not been able to procure minute details of the movements, nor any anecdotes or circumstances connected

with, or characteristic of, this respectable corps, either individually or collectively, I can do little more than mention the principal services in which they have subsequently been engaged. The loss in Holland, as well as in all other places where they were opposed to the enemy, will be found in the general list of casualties. *

On the conclusion of this service the regiment returned to England, and was again embarked on the 27th May 1800, and sailed for the Isle of Wight on the coast of France. Nothing decisive was done there, and the fleet proceeded to Minorca, where the 92d landed on the 20th of July. The farther movements of the corps, up to the 13th of March 1801, will be seen in the article on the 42d Regiment. On the morning of that day the army was formed in three columns of regiments, and, in this formation, moved forward to the attack. The 90th (or Perthshire) regiment led the advance of the centre column, and the Gordon Highlanders the left, the reserve marching on the right, parallel with the other two columns. The enemy were seen drawn up on a rising ground, seemingly strong in cavalry and artillery. The regiments in advance immediately formed line. This formation was hardly completed when the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon on the 92d, and advanced with great boldness to the attack, which was received and resisted with coolness and intrepidity. The enemy repeated their attack, supported by a powerful and well served artillery, but were driven back with loss; and this regiment singly maintained their ground against every effort till the line was formed, and moved forward. The loss, as might have been expected in such circumstances, was considerable.

The regiment had previously suffered much from sickness while on the passage from Minorca to Egypt. Before they had embarked in England, a number of young recruits joined from the Highlands, whose constitutions suf-

* See Appendix.

fered a severe shock from the confinement and heat on board a transport in a Mediterranean summer, and from the salt provisions, so different from the milk and vegetable diet to which they had been accustomed in their native country. At this time a notion was very prevalent that the Highland garb was highly improper for soldiers in any situation, particularly in hot climates. Colonel Erskine gave in to this opinion, and put his men in trowsers of the strong thick cloth of which the great-coats are made. In this he was strongly supported by the advice of the surgeon and many others; but this new dress was too much for the constitutions of the young men who had recently been so thinly clothed even in a cold climate. The increased warmth and confinement were followed by an inflammatory fever which broke out in the transports of the regiment. Of this malady a number of the finest young men died, and a great many were so debilitated as to be totally unfit for service in Egypt. Their brave commander saw how inadvertently he had followed this advice, and declared he would never again alter the uniform. But, unfortunately for his corps and the service in general, he did not long survive, for he died of the wounds received on the 13th March 1801, leaving, in his profession, few officers of higher spirit and greater promise.

Another circumstance contributed to confirm the resolutions of this spirited and excellent officer. When his regiment lay in Minorca in 1800, they made a most unmilitary appearance in their grey pantaloons, which, in addition to the thick texture of the cloth, were loose and badly shaped. The 42d, who had been some time stationed in the island, was quartered in the same barrack, and had recently been supplied with new clothing. The martial appearance of the men, their erect air, walk, and carriage, were striking; and the late absurd deviation from the original national garb *

* One of these deviations ought to be discontinued, as it endangers the health of the soldiers in hot weather. Several years ago the shape

had not then commenced, and no attempts had been made to throw ridicule on the Celtic uniform, by covering the hose with white spatterdashes, and forming the bonnet into the shape of a German grenadier's cap; with other innovations as unnecessary as they are in bad taste. *

By the action of the 13th March, and the previous sickness, the regiment was so reduced in numbers that General Abercromby ordered it to the rear to take post on the shore at Aboukir. This was the night before the battle of the 21st of March. Major Napier, who then commanded in consequence of the death of Colonel Erskine, † left his

of the soldiers' coats was altered, and they were made to button close round the body. This was an improvement in the English uniform, as it gave additional warmth to the back and bowels; but when it was adopted by Highland corps, the nature of the garb was overlooked. The numerous plaits and folds of the belted plaid and little kilt form so thick a covering, that when the coat is added, the warmth is so great, that on a march it debilitates those parts of the body, whereas the former cut of the jacket, with the skirts thrown back, and the breast open, left them uncovered; and the waistcoat being white, relieved the uniform, which, from the dark shade of green in the plaid, and the blue and green facings of the 42d and 79th regiments, gave those corps a rather sombre appearance when drawn up in line.

* Colonel Cameron of the 79th was, at the same time, and in the same manner as Colonel Erskine, prevailed upon, altogether contrary to his inclination, to put his men in pantaloons. A field-officer of his regiment, his principal adviser, enforced his argument by saying, that he understood the 42d never wore a dress so improper in hot climates.

When the fleet was off Cadiz, and the troops were descending into the boats for the landing, Colonel Cameron was standing on deck with this officer by his side, when the Colonel perceived the men of the 42d going down to the boats in kilts. He hastily turned round to his adviser to ask how this happened, but he was gone. He ran down below, and took care not to show himself again before his Colonel any more that day. This was the last time the Cameron Highlanders ever appeared in pantaloons.

† This estimable young officer was so desperately wounded in the leg, that amputation was necessary. Having an excellent constitution, the surgeons expected a complete and speedy recovery, but Colonel Erskine himself was deeply impressed with the belief that the loss of his leg rendered him incapable of future service, and considered his military

ground an hour before the action commenced. When he heard the firing, and understood from its extent that the action was general, he hurried back and took up his former position in the line.

The regiment soon recovered its health and strength, and shared in all the movements of the army in Egypt till the conclusion of hostilities, when they embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork on the 30th of January 1802. From thence they were removed to Glasgow, and soon after the renewal of hostilities in 1803, marched to Leith, and embarked there for Harwich and Weely Camp.

At this period a second battalion of 1,000 men was embodied. The men raised by the Army of Reserve Act, for the counties of Nairn, Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen, were sent to this battalion; which, along with those recruited in the usual manner, speedily completed the requisite number. This battalion was a nursery of good recruits to supply the casualties consequent on the more active duties of the 1st battalion, till the peace in 1814.

The first of these duties in the late war was the expedition against Copenhagen in 1807, where the regiment served in Sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade. In 1808 they embarked again, under Sir John Moore, for Sweden. This expedition came to a speedy and unexpected conclusion; and immediately on the return of the army to England, they were ordered for Portugal, under the same com-

career for ever blasted. His high and chivalrous mind could not brook the disappointment of his hopes, and his spirit sunk under it: he lost his rest, and with that his strength. He died the ninth day, literally of a broken heart, while the wound was healing most rapidly. Another valuable man, and excellent officer, Colonel Macdowall of the 79th, having also lost a leg on the 21st of March, died in similar circumstances. Colonel Erskine was son of Mr Erskine of Cardross, in Perthshire, who lived to lament the loss of another son this year. He was first Lieutenant to Lord Keith in the Queen Charlotte, and was one of the unfortunate sufferers when she was burnt by accident off Leghorn in 1800.

mander, accompanying all his movements till the close of the whole at Corunna on the 17th of January 1809, where this regiment was unfortunate in losing another excellent commanding officer, Colonel Napier of Blackstone, killed on that occasion.

After landing in England, they were marched to their former quarters at Weely, where they received a reinforcement of good recruits, which increased their number to 1,001 soldiers; but, in the next service in which they were engaged, in Walcheren, they found the fever and ague of that country a more deadly enemy than the French. The loss sustained was, however, again speedily repaired by recruits from the second battalion. On the 21st of September 1810, they embarked for Portugal, and, in the following month, joined the British army under Lord Wellington at the lines of Torres Vedras.

Having, as I have already stated, received no notice of the service of this regiment beyond what may be seen in the general details of events, I can only add, that, in the course of all the numerous trials of courage and military discipline to which this corps was exposed during the busy period that elapsed till the war was terminated by the peace of 1814, they preserved that honourable line of conduct which both justified, and added to the estimation in which they were formerly held. The same spirit existed, and was conspicuous at Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

At Quatre Bras the 92d was in brigade with the Royal Scots, the 42d, and 44th regiments, under Major-General Pack. At this village the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Ligny, intersect each other. The right of the Prussian army extended to Ligny, and therefore Quatre Bras, which united so many communications, was of great importance. To preserve this important position, the Duke of Wellington placed General Pack's brigade, and Major-General Kempt's, consisting of the 28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments, supported by a brigade of Hanoverians, the Brunswick cavalry and infantry, and a corps

of Belgians. The French army, under Marshal Ney, was drawn up on an almost parallel position, and in great force. A thick wood (Bois de Boissu) covered a portion of the plain which divided the opposing forces: the part clear of wood was covered with corn.

General Kempt's brigade extended on the plain to the left, being formed into separate columns of regiments, and were soon hotly engaged with an enemy possessing a great preponderance of numerical force, which was nevertheless resisted with firmness and success. The enemy continuing to push forward fresh troops, the 42d and 44th were ordered out to the plain, in support of those engaged; a desperate conflict ensued, and every charge of an impetuous enemy, whether of cavalry or infantry, or whether directed against a single battalion, or more, was equally unavailing.

The Gordon Highlanders were formed in line in a ditch bounding the great Namur road, with their right on the farm of Quatre Bras, and the Hanoverian brigade and Brunswick infantry on their left, but a little to the rear; the Brunswick cavalry were drawn up on the road, covered by a few field-pieces. While in this position, the Brunswick hussars pushed forward to check a column of French cavalry considerably in advance of the main body. In this spirited charge their brave Prince was mortally wounded; an irreparable misfortune at such a moment; and, although it was the means of rendering his followers more desperate, and desirous of revenge at an after period, in the present instance, it threw them into a confusion of which the enemy taking advantage, charged them with redoubled vigour, and forced them to retire hotly pursued, in the direction of the Gordon Highlanders, who were concealed by the ditch along which they had been drawn up. Coolly waiting till the enemy came within reach, they opened a well directed and most destructive fire. Surprised by this unexpected attack, the enemy got into irretrievable confusion, and fled, having suffered such a loss in killed and wounded, as might be expected from repeated volleys of musquetry, aimed

with the correctness of experienced soldiers, like those of the 92d regiment. It was now six o'clock in the evening. The battle had continued three hours, and had consisted chiefly in a succession of numerous charges and repulses, each charge being made with the desperation of an enemy seemingly determined to conquer; but they were met by men resolved to die on the ground they occupied, rather than sully their own honour, or forget their duty to their King and Country.

When troops are thus opposed, the contest must be desperate, and unless there is a great preponderance of force to overwhelm the lesser number, it must be long. In this case, the preponderance on the side of the enemy is said to have been great; indeed, remarkably so, which enhances the credit of the successful resistance made to their bold and desperate attacks. But, at six o'clock, this disparity of force was lessened by a reinforcement from Brussels, consisting of a brigade of guards, and of the 30th, 33d, 69th, and 73d regiments, together with a brigade of Hanoverians, and one of the German Legion. The guards were stationed on the right of Quatre Bras, and the other brigades on the left. This reinforcement, however, did not intimidate the enemy, who commenced a fresh attack by a general discharge from a numerous artillery, which were so stationed as to cover the whole of the British line. Either with a view of thinning the ranks of the allies, before the columns advanced to the attack, or of waiting for reinforcements, nearly an hour elapsed before the enemy pushed forward in two columns, directing their march, the one on the high road, the other through a hollow along the skirts of the Bois de Boissu. Covered by the wood and hedges, the enemy had silently and unperceived occupied a house on the Charleroi road, some hundred yards distant from the village; they had also got possession of a garden, and of several thick-set hedges, contiguous to the house. Without waiting to be attacked, the 92d prepared to drive the enemy from the house and hedges. One part headed by Colonel Cameron,

and accompanied by General Barnes, (now Adjutant-General,) who was eager to witness this trial of strength, of men who had served in his brigade in the Peninsular war, rapidly moved forward on the road, while another party pushed round by their right. The enemy possessing the advantages of the house and hedges, by which they were partly covered, it was not without considerable time, and the greatest exertions of resolution and personal courage combined, that the Highlanders were enabled to drive the French from their position. This they at last accomplished, with the loss of their brave commander, Colonel Cameron, and some other valuable lives. But while battles are fought, and there is a brave enemy to be overcome, lives must be sacrificed. In this case, an enemy greatly more numerous than their assailants, covered by houses and hedges, and, consequently, more able to take deliberate aim, were driven from their post with a loss to the Highlanders of only 11 men killed, and were pursued more than a quarter of a mile along the route by which they had advanced. The pursuit continued till checked by the advance of a large body of French cavalry and infantry, preceded by artillery, when the Highlanders, unable to resist such a force, retired along the edge of the wood of Boissu, and occupied their original position. Although the enemy had hitherto made no progress, and, indeed, had failed or been driven back in all their principal attacks, Marshal Ney still persevered and attempted to force the wood, now defended by the guards, a corps of Brunswick infantry, and the 92d. Every attempt failed, and at nine o'clock, the enemy, despairing of success, finally retired, leaving their opponents on the ground they had occupied when the battle commenced at three o'clock.

After such proofs of the determination of the enemy, no time was to be lost in bringing forward all the disposable troops of the allied army. Accordingly, the whole were assembled before eight o'clock the following morning, in the neighbourhood of Quatre Bras. But it was not on this

spot that the great and final struggle was destined to take place; a struggle which settled the fate of empires, sealed the destiny of one of the greatest, most ambitious, and most successful conquerors, of this or almost any other age; put to the test the courage, discipline, and firmness, of the choicest troops of Europe; and proved to this country, that in the day of trial the most perfect confidence may be reposed in her sons; that no excitement beyond a sense of duty is required for its performance; and that, if commanded with judgment, and their courage and physical powers properly directed, it is probable that no foe of equal numbers will ever be victorious over them. It was on the field of Waterloo that the commander of the allied army, with his usual prescience, fixed for the great trial. On that ground there was an open field, no woods to cover the advance of an enemy, no natural or artificial impediments to check the full exercise of British courage and discipline, or to interrupt the charges of an enemy.

As if it were in prelude to the approaching terrestrial warfare, that of the elements the night previous to, and the morning of the battle, was awful and sublime. The thunder and the lightning were such as few had witnessed, and reminded those who had been at Salamanca, in July 1812, of the similar ushering in of the morning of that memorable battle. If superstition be at all allowable, it must be on such occasions as this, when the soldiers anticipated the same success as had crowned their exertions at Salamanca. This anticipation of success raised the hopes and invigorated the spirits of the army, although drenched and chilled by a deluge of rain from as furious a tempest as any on record.

At Waterloo, as at Quatre Bras, the Gordon Highlanders were in the ninth brigade, with the Royal Scots, the Royal Highlanders, and the 44th regiment. This brigade was stationed on the left wing of the army, on the crest of a gentle eminence, which formed one side of the hollow, or low valley, that divided the hostile armies. Along this crest, for nearly two-thirds of its length, ran a hedge. In front

of this hedge were posted a brigade of Belgians, a brigade of Hanoverians, and General Ponsonby's brigade of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, Scots Greys, and Inniskillings. It was not till about two o'clock that this part of the line was attacked. Under cover of a heavy fire of artillery, the enemy advanced in a solid column, with drums beating, and every accompaniment of military array, directing their march on the position of the Belgians, who immediately opened a fire, which, together with that of the artillery, checked the advance of the enemy. But the check was temporary. The troops of Nassau gave way, and retired behind the protecting ridge or crest of the eminence, leaving a large space open for the enemy. To occupy this space, and, if possible, force the enemy to retreat, the third battalion of the Royal Scots, and second battalion of the 44th, were ordered up. A sharp conflict of some duration ensued. The enemy's columns continuing to press forward, these two regiments lost many men, and expended their ammunition. General Pack observing this, ordered up the Highlanders, calling out, "Ninety-second, now is your time—charge." The order was answered by a shout. The regiment instantly formed, and rushed to the front, against a column equal in length to their line, which was only two men in depth, while the column was ten or twelve. The enemy stood, as if in suspense, till the Highlanders approached, when, seemingly panic-struck, they wheeled to the rear, and fled in the utmost confusion. Their flight was too rapid for the Highlanders to overtake them. A flying enemy generally runs faster than his pursuer. Few things increase a man's speed more than the fear of a musket bullet or a bayonet. But however rapid the retreat, (and in this case they threw away their arms and every other incumbrance,) the cavalry overtook the fugitives. General Ponsonby, seizing on the moment, darted forward at full speed, and, cutting into the centre of the column, killed numbers, and took more than 1,500 prisoners. When the Greys galloped past the Highlanders, there was a mutual cheer, "Scotland for ever!"

The word was electric. The name of their country, with its accompanying recollections, animated all to a degree of enthusiasm that made their efforts in the present case irresistible; and Napoleon had some reason when he expressed surprise and admiration at the movements of these regiments—"Qu'ils sont terribles ces chevaux gris!" When he saw the Greys cut down his best troops, when the small body of Highlanders forced one of his chosen columns to fly in terror and confusion, the feelings of a gallant soldier overcame his disappointment, and he openly declared his admiration of "les braves Ecossais." But, in the enthusiasm of the moment, the Greys pushing forward, passed the column which had surrendered or were destroyed, and charged up to the line of the French position; but, being unsupported, they suffered considerably before they got back to their own ground.

The 92d was engaged in the farther movements and fatigues of the day; but I cannot conclude this short and unsatisfactory account of the regiment better than with this charge, which met with merited success; a success our troops may always expect, if, animated with the same spirit, they close upon their enemy with equal alacrity and courage. A column of such strength, composed of veteran troops, filled with the usual confidence of the soldiers of France, thus to give way to so inferior a force, and by their retreat to expose themselves to certain destruction from the charges of cavalry ready to pour in and overwhelm them, can only be accounted for by the manner in which the attack was made, and is one of the numerous advantages of that mode of attack I have had so often occasion to notice. Had the Highlanders hesitated and stood at a distance, exposed to the fire of the enemy, half an hour would have been sufficient to have annihilated their small number, whereas, in their bold and rapid advance, *they only lost four men!* The almost certain success of this mode of attack, the consequent honour to our troops, and the saving

of lives, will, I hope, render an apology for my frequent recurrence to the subject the less necessary.

This was the last military service of the Gordon Highlanders. May all Highland corps imitate their example, and may they continue to preserve the same principles and conduct which at that time particularly attracted the notice of the inhabitants of Flanders! A favourable impression had been early produced in that country by the conduct of the Seaforth Highlanders, who had been eighteen months stationed there, and who had so conducted themselves as to be considered by the inhabitants as "enfans de la famille."

Several authors who have given an account of the march of the troops from Brussels for Quatre Bras, on the morning of the 16th of June, notice the warm interest which the Highlanders excited in the spectators. The warlike appearance of the garb must have considerably increased this sentiment, but it was produced by their quiet and regular habits. Mr Simpson, in his account of his visit to Flanders, states that, on that morning, "My friend was most affected with, and loved most to recount the steady, serious, and business-like march of the Highland regiments, who were about to justify, and exceed the utmost that has been said and expected of them in the Netherlands: 'God protect the brave Scotch,' 'God cover the heads of our gallant friends,' were exclamations often repeated as they passed along, and many a flower was thrown by many a fair hand into their ranks." The same author says that, at Antwerp, "A gentleman whom I saw had seen the wounded arrive. He himself had been recognised, and spoken to by a poor wounded Highlander, which absolutely gave him a kind of consideration in the crowd. He felt prouder than if a prince had smiled upon him."

In the same manner it is said, in the "Circumstantial Detail," that regiment after regiment formed with the utmost regularity, and marched out of Brussels about four o'clock in the morning. "The 42d and 92d Highland regiments march-

ed through the Place Royale and the Parc. One could not but admire their fine appearance, their firm, collected, steady, military demeanour, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. On many a Highland hill and Lowland valley long will the deeds of these men be remembered. * It was impossible to witness such a scene unmoved."

A character that calls forth such feelings is worth preserving. So long as these corps are preserved as national, the character of their country is deeply interested in their conduct. If a corps retrograde in reputation and conduct, men will believe that the country whence they came is also descending in the scale, and will judge of the soil from the produce. If the produce continue the same as that exhibited in the Gordon Highlanders, the character of the country is safe.

In the Appendix is a nominal list of officers killed and wounded, and of the number of soldiers who have fallen in battle from 1794 to 1815 inclusive; the number of officers killed previous to the peace of 1814 was 7, and of soldiers 181; at Quatre Bras, the loss was 5 officers and 33 soldiers; at Waterloo, 13 soldiers; in all, from 1794 to 1815 inclusive, 12 officers and 227 soldiers. Of the soldiers discharged, 329 are on the strength of Chelsea Hospital. Of these a great proportion has been called out to serve in the Veteran Battalions, as they are still fit for military duty.

This regiment is now stationed in Jamaica, where they lost more officers and more men by climate in four months, than by the hand of the enemy in an active war of

* This "Near Observer," perhaps, did not know that, on many a Highland hill, and in many a Highland glen, few are left to mourn the death or rejoice over the deeds of the departed brave. New views of Highland statistics have changed the birth-place of many a brave soldier, and defender of the honour, prosperity, and independence of this country, to a desolate waste, where no maimed soldier can now find a home or shelter, and where the sound of the pipes, and the voice of innocent gaiety and festivity, are no longer heard.

twenty-two years, in the progress of which this regiment was twenty-six times in battle. The same intrepidity which made the fire of the enemy so comparatively harmless, did not avail them against the fevers of Jamaica. But they were unfortunately introduced into that climate at the most unhealthy season of the year. Had it been otherwise, or had they landed there in the beginning of winter, and thus had some months' seasoning to prepare them against the heat, heavy rains, and consequent diseases of summer, it is probable that their constitutions would have withstood the climate as well as these of their countrymen of the 42d, who, in a harassing warfare under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in 1796 and 1797, only lost 49 men by fever and dysentery, 14 from accidents and sores in the legs, or incurable gangrenes, 33 from diseased liver and general debility, and 25 from various causes—in all 121, besides killed and dead of wounds; a moderate loss considering the circumstances, that the yellow fever was raging at the time; that the men were living on salt provisions; and that fourteen months were spent in the woods without tents or covering, except temporary huts built by themselves.

But while the recent loss of the 92d is to be considered only as the inevitable consequence of the nature of their professional duty, it must be matter of regret that black corps have been removed from the service. The prejudice against arming any part of the black population is strongly felt in the colonies; but an experience of twenty-five years has shown that the black soldiers showed no disposition towards those of their own colour, that could lead to danger in the event of any disturbance; on the contrary, there was more of jealousy and hatred than of cordiality betwixt the black soldiers and the negroes. The former saw themselves on a footing with British soldiers, they were well dressed, well fed, had the command of money, and looked with a contempt, which they did not conceal, on their less favoured black brethren, who in return regarded them with ha-

tred and envy. These feelings were increased by the gay appearance of the black soldiers attracting the notice of the negro women, a fertile and never failing source of jealousy, hatred, and revenge. So long as these causes existed, the danger of black troops joining in any negro insurrection must have been small; and although it is not to be expected that they can oppose European troops without hazard, yet they are regular in quarters, and have shown few symptoms of insubordination. If their ignorance of the English language, and incapability of comprehending instructions, had been recollected, a mild system of discipline would, in the first instance, have been more efficacious, and probably those acts of insubordination would have been avoided. The black regiments would have formed a valuable addition to our West India garrisons, by placing a proportion in each colony, along with the white troops, who would have thus been relieved from the most unhealthy duties; for, while hot, close, low situations, such as many West India towns present, destroy the health of European troops, such situations agree best with the blacks; and while the latter could have performed the duties there, the former might have been kept in those high, cool, and healthy spots, which abound in all the islands; and in this way many of our European soldiers would have been saved. Certainly any plan that would tend to preserve the lives of such soldiers as those of the 50th and 92d regiments, (who had served together under Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John Moore, and the Duke of Wellington,) is worth some risk, even if there were any, which, in the present case, it is hoped there is not. The 92d are now healthy, and have a prospect of a long continuance of this blessing, which may enable them to return to England, as the 42d did from the West Indies in 1797, with scarcely one in 507 on the sick list. And when, in future, the Gordon Highlanders receive recruits, may they be such men as those, who, in the early service of the corps under Lord Huntly, so conducted themselves, that, when a

short time quartered in disturbed countries, "peace and order were established, rapine had disappeared, confidence in the Government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted, since his regiment came among them."

## SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS,

## OR

## NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT.

### 1800.

THERE are few regiments in his Majesty's service who, in all those qualities which constitute good soldiers, and valuable members of society, excel this respectable body of men. None of the Highland corps is superior to the 93d regiment. I do not make comparisons in point of bravery, for, if properly commanded, they are all brave; but it is in those well regulated habits, of which so much has already been said, that the Sutherland Highlanders have for twenty years preserved an unvaried line of conduct. The light infantry company of this corps has been nineteen years without having a man punished. This single fact may be taken as sufficient evidence of morals; for, although the light company is composed of picked men, the choice often depends less on character than on personal appearance, and these companies are frequently the most irregular, perhaps as much from that overflow of animal spirits peculiar to men in the prime of life, as from any great degree of moral turpitude. Such, however, is the character and conduct of this light company, and of nineteen men out of every twenty in the regiment. Indeed, the few exceptionable characters in the corps were

men raised in large towns, but the proportion of these has been small. On the first formation in 1800, the strength of the regiment was 596 men, and 34 serjeants. Of the soldiers 460 were Sutherland men; the others were principally from Ross, and the neighbouring counties. In 1811 the number of Scotch and Highlanders was 1,014, of Irish 17, and of English 18, and in these proportions they have continued down till the present time.

A Fencible regiment of Sutherland men, embodied in 1793, was disbanded in 1798, without any attempt to encourage the men to re-enlist in regiments of the line; but in May 1800 Major-General William Wemyss of Wemyss, who had been Colonel of that corps, received authority to raise a regiment of 600 men, with instructions to endeavour, if possible, to prevail on the men of the Fencible corps to return to their ranks in this new regiment, which was to be of the line. This was an arduous undertaking, for the men had already been eighteen months settled in different situations, which they were unwilling to relinquish. However, the complement required was raised, (of which, as I have said, 460 were men of Sutherland,) and the corps was soon afterwards augmented, first to 800, and then to 1,000 men, with officers in proportion.

The regiment was inspected by Major-General Hay at Inverness in August 1800, and in September embarked for Guernsey, where it was stationed till September 1802, when it was ordered to Scotland to be reduced. But symptoms of a renewal of the war appearing, the order for reduction was countermanded, and the destination changed for Ireland. In that station nothing worthy of notice occurred, till the month of July 1805, when this battalion formed part of an armament embarked at Cork, under the command of Major-General Sir David Baird, intended for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope. This expedition consisted of three companies of artillery, 200 men of the 20th Light Dragoons, and the 24th, 38th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, with the 59th, destined for India.

The troops were embarked, and sailed in the beginning of August 1805, and after a boisterous passage reached the Cape, and anchored in Table Bay on the 4th of January 1806. The troops were immediately brigaded. The 24th, 38th, and 83d, were under the command of Brigadier-General Beresford, and the Highland brigade of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, under Brigadier-General Ronald C. Ferguson. The surf being violent, on the 5th Brigadier-General Beresford, with the cavalry and 38th regiment, was detached to Saldanha Bay, to effect a landing there. This was done without opposition a few days afterwards, and on the 6th, the surf having somewhat abated, the Highland brigade landed in Lospard Bay, experiencing a slight opposition from a light corps of the enemy scattered along the heights bordering on the shore. On this occasion Lieutenant-Colonel Pack of the 71st and a few men were wounded, and 35 men of the 93d lost by the upsetting of a boat in the surf.

The stores being landed on the 7th, the troops advanced on the 8th, and ascending to the summit of the Blaw Berg, (or Blue Mountains,) the enemy was perceived drawn up on a plain, in two lines of about 5,000 men, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. General Baird quickly formed his troops in two columns, and directed the first brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Baird, (in the absence of Brigadier-General Beresford,) towards the right, while the Highland brigade, thrown forward on the high road, advanced on the enemy, who opened a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. Seemingly determined to retain their position, the enemy kept up a smart fire as our troops approached, till General Ferguson gave the word to charge. The order was instantly obeyed. The charge was so impetuous, and apparently so irresistible, that the enemy, appalled and panic-struck, fired the last volley in a manner without aim or effect, gave way at all points, and fled in great confusion, having sustained a loss of more than 600 men killed and wounded, while that of

the British was only 10 killed, and 191 wounded. The 93d lost 2 soldiers killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Honeyman, Lieutenants Scobie and Strachan, Ensigns Hedrick and Craig, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 51 privates, wounded. The enemy made no further resistance, and thus easily was this important colony acquired.

From that period the Sutherland regiment remained in garrison at the Cape till embarked for England. * In August 1814 it landed at Plymouth, and in the following month was placed under the command of Major-General Keane, along with other troops destined to reinforce the army in North America. The fleet sailed on the 18th of September, and touching at Barbadoes, reached Jamaica, and there joined the squadron under Vice-Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, with 3,500 troops on board. General Keane assuming the command of the whole, amounting to 5,400 men, sailed from Jamaica on the 27th November, and, on the 13th December, landed near Cat Island, at the entrance of a chain of lakes leading to New Orleans. After a few preparatory arrangements, the troops were landed at the head of the Bayone on the 23d without opposition, but on the following night they were attacked by a considerable force of infantry, supported by a strong corps of artillery. After repeated efforts, the enemy were repulsed with loss. On the 25th Major-General the Honourable Sir Edward Pakenham arrived, and took the command of the army. On the 27th the troops made a forward movement, in two columns, and took up a position within six miles of the town, and immediately in front of the enemy's lines. Here they were strongly

* In 1813, a second battalion was added to this regiment. It was formed at Inverness; and, after some instructions in discipline, was destined to join the army under the Duke of Wellington in France; but, owing to the peace of 1814, this destination was changed to North America. The battalion was embarked, and landed in Newfoundland, where it was stationed sixteen months; and then returning to Europe in 1815, was reduced soon after landing.

posted, with a morass and thick wood on the left, and the Mississippi on the right. Their front was protected by a deep and broad ditch, bounded by a parapet and breast-works, extending in a direct line about 1,000 yards, and mounted with artillery, and a flank battery on the right bank of the river. The army being reinforced on the 7th of January 1815 by the arrival of the 43d regiment, the General determined to attack this position in front, detaching a force under Colonel Thornton, with the 85th regiment, across the river, to take the enemy in flank, and attack some vessels which supported their right. The arrangements for the attack were as follows: General Gibbs, with the King's Own, Scotch Fusileers, 44th regiment, and three companies of the Rifle Corps, to lead the attack; the Sutherland Highlanders, with two companies of the English Fusileers, two of the 43d, and two of the Rifle Corps, under Major-General Keane, to form the second brigade; and the English Fusileers and 43d regiment to form the reserve: a party of Black troops were ordered to the wood on the right to occupy the attention of the enemy on that flank, and keep up a skirmishing fire. Fascines and rafts to fill up, and enable the soldiers to cross the ditch, were prepared, and in readiness, and also scaling ladders to mount a parapet raised on the inner bank of the ditch. The attack was to have been made before day-light of the 8th, but unexpected difficulties causing a delay, and it being necessary to wait the co-operation of Colonel Thornton, whose passage across the river had been greatly retarded by the breadth, force, and rapidity of the stream, which carried the boats below the proper point of landing, it was considerably after sun-rise before the troops could advance to the attack. Thus exposed to full view, (the troops advanced on an open plain,) the enemy opened a heavy fire from their whole line, and a battery on the right bank of the river, but when our troops reached the ditch, their farther progress was checked, as it was found impassable, the fascines and rafts having been left in the rear. In this state, unable to advance, and losing many men from the

fire of an enemy beyond their reach, and completely under cover, they began to waver. The Commander had fallen, and Generals Gibbs and Keane, with many officers, were wounded. Discouraged by these losses, unable to close upon the enemy, whose fire was in one respect more formidable as coming from invisible hands, the troops retired in such confusion, that Major-General Lambert, on whom the command devolved, and who pushed forward with the reserve, did not find himself justified, on a consideration of all the difficulties yet to be surmounted, to renew the attack. He, therefore, recalled Colonel Thornton, who had succeeded in gaining his position on the right bank of the river, and retired to the post from whence the army had marched in the morning. There they remained till the 18th, when the wounded, (with the exception of those in too dangerous a state to be moved,) and the artillery and stores, were embarked, and the army retired to the head of the Bayone, (where they first landed,) and reimbarked without molestation on the 27th of January. The loss, as in almost all unsuccessful attacks, was severe. Besides the high spirited and brave Generals Pakenham and Gibbs, (the latter died of his wounds,) 3 field officers, 5 captains, 4 subalterns, 11 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 266 rank and file, were killed; and 1 general officer, 10 field officers, 21 captains, 47 subalterns, 1 staff officer, 54 serjeants, 9 drummers, and 1,126 rank and file, wounded. The 93d lost 1 field officer, 2 captains, 2 serjeants, and 58 rank and file, killed; and 4 captains, 8 subalterns, 17 serjeants, 3 drummers, and 348 rank and file, wounded.

Some other movements followed this disastrous attempt, but peace soon afterwards putting an end to all hostilities, the troops were ordered home. The 93d were sent to Ireland, and landed at Cork on the 28th of May 1815.

Thus ended the military service of this regiment, bearing no comparison in point of variety, extent, or fatigues, to that of some other corps of the same designation, who had so frequent opportunities of facing the enemy during the war.

From the relative situation of the assailants and defenders, the affair of New Orleans bore a striking resemblance to that of Ticonderoga, in the year 1758. The analogy was equally marked in the nature of the post, and of the defences, in the manner of attack, and in the disastrous result. Ticonderoga was surrounded on three sides by a deep impassable morass, and approachable only by a long narrow slip of land, strengthened and defended in such a manner as to make an advance without a previous breach by artillery (which had not been brought forward) impossible in the face of a resolute enemy, or indeed of any enemy with a sufficient command of nerve to avail themselves of such formidable defences. This want of artillery at Ticonderoga, and of the necessary means for surmounting the enemy's defences at New Orleans, may be assigned as the causes of failure in both instances. But, although so similar in some respects, the parallel is not complete. At New Orleans the high spirited Commander was the first in the attack, animating all by his example, and was one of the first who fell, followed by his second in command, (an officer well qualified to inspire and preserve confidence in his troops,) together with several valuable officers killed and disabled, which so dispirited many of the soldiers, that they retired without orders, and in great confusion. At Ticonderoga the Commander-in-chief did not lead, but the troops persevered in the attack for four hours, with a determination and courage that deserved a better fate, and when farther exertions were considered unavailable, it was difficult to recal them, as they disdained to retreat while life or the least hope of success remained. It was not till after the third order that Colonel Grant could prevail on the soldiers of the 42d to give up the contest and retire, taking with them 306 of their number wounded, and burying 296 on the field.

It was unfortunate that the routine of duty did not allow the Sutherland regiment any share in the actions during the war, to which success has given such brilliant effect. Garrisoned at the Cape during eight years of constant and

active warfare, and returning to Europe after hostilities with France had ceased, their duties, with the exception of the short service at New Orleans, were of the most peaceable description. How they performed these duties is in the recollection and esteem of those who witnessed their uniformly excellent conduct.

Judging from the establishment of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands, and others of the same laudable tendency, and also from the recent reports of missionaries, whose vocation (it may be observed) would fail if they stated that their hearers were pious and intelligent, it may perhaps be believed by many, that, previous to these apostolic expeditions and visitations, Christianity must have been little known or practised in the North; but, as the best proof of the existence of religious knowledge and general intelligence is exhibited by the moral character and actions of a people, we may apply this criterion to the case in question, so far, at least, as regards the Highlands, where, notwithstanding many disadvantages, and the confined means of religious instruction, from the great extent of parishes, the consequent scarcity of clergymen, and the frequent practice, which cannot be too strongly reprobated, of placing ministers in churches who preach in a language unintelligible to their parishioners, notwithstanding this custom, unknown, I believe and sincerely hope, in any other Christian country, we find, by the conduct and character of the people, that these disadvantages have been in a great measure overcome, and, in the present instance, that the Sutherland men were so well grounded in moral duties and religious principles, that, when stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and being anxious to enjoy the advantages of religious instruction agreeably to the tenets of their national church, and there being no religious service in the garrison, except the customary one of reading prayers to the soldiers on parade, the men of the 93d regiment formed themselves into a congregation, appointed elders of their own number, engaged and paid a sti-

pend (collected from the soldiers) to a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, (who had gone out with an intention of teaching and preaching to the Caffres,) and had Divine Service performed agreeably to the ritual of the established Church. Their expences were so well regulated, that, while contributing to the support of their clergyman from the savings of their pay, they were enabled to promote that social cheerfulness which is the true attribute of pure religion and of a well spent life. While too many soldiers were ready to indulge in that vice which, more than any other, leads to crime in the British army, and spent much of their money for liquor, the Sutherland men indulged in the cheerful amusement of dancing, and in their evening meetings were joined by many respectable inhabitants, who were happy to witness such scenes among the common soldiers in the British service. In addition to these expences, the soldiers regularly remitted money to their relations in Sutherland.

In the case of such men disgraceful punishment is as unnecessary as it would be pernicious. Indeed, so remote was the idea of such a measure in regard to them, that, when punishments were to be inflicted on others, and the troops in camp, garrison, or quarters, assembled to witness their execution, the presence of the Sutherland Highlanders, either of the Fencibles or of the line, was often dispensed with, the effect of terror as a check to crime being in their case uncalled for,—" as examples of that nature were not necessary for such honourable soldiers !" Such is the character of a national or district corps of the present day. What they have been in former days I have also endeavoured to show.

It has been said that our regiments ought to be mixed, as the good will, by their example, improve the bad. Certainly the latter object is desirable; but the price, perhaps, is too high, and the efficacy of the means uncertain. To degrade or lower the proper pride of a virtuous and honest soldier, by making him a companion to the dissolute

and unprincipled, in the expectation that the latter will be improved, is rather a questionable measure. I have already noticed the change which took place in the habits and manners of the 42d by the great influx of indifferent subjects in 1795. Except when before an enemy, there was a visible alteration, particularly in their common conversation, which was previously so correct and so free from all indecency, that I do not recollect an instance of a man making use of improper language, without being reproved by his companions, and taxed with bringing disgrace upon himself and the corps.

But to return to the Sutherland regiment. Their conduct at the Cape did not proceed from any temporary cause. It was founded on principles uniform and permanent. When these men disembarked at Plymouth in August 1814, the inhabitants were both surprised and gratified. On such occasions it had been no uncommon thing for soldiers to spend the money they had saved in taverns and gin shops. In the present case the soldiers of Sutherland were seen in booksellers' shops, supplying themselves with Bibles, and such books and tracts as they required. Yet, as at the Cape, where their religious habits were so free of all fanatical gloom, that they indulged in dancing and social meetings, so here, while expending their money on books, they did not neglect their personal appearance, and the haberdashers' shops had also their share of trade from the purchase of additional feathers to their bonnets, and such extra decorations as the correctness of military regulations allow to be introduced into the uniform.

While they were thus mindful of themselves, improving their minds and their personal appearance, such of them as had relations in Sutherland did not forget the change in their condition occasioned by the loss of their lands, and the operation of the new improvements. During the short period that the regiment was quartered in Plymouth, upwards of L. 500 were lodged in one banking-house, to be remitted to Sutherland, exclusive of many sums sent home through

the post-office, and by officers. Some of these sums exceeded L. 20 from an individual soldier.

There has been little change in the character of this respectable corps. Courts-martial have been very unfrequent. Twelve and fifteen months have intervened without the necessity of assembling one; and, in the words of a general officer who reviewed them in Ireland, they exhibited "a picture of military discipline and moral rectitude;" and, in the opinion of another eminent commander, "although the junior regiment in his Majesty's service, they exhibit an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all." * On another occasion, the character, discipline, and interior economy of the 93d regiment were declared to be "altogether incomparable;" and in similar language have they been characterized by every general officer who commanded them. General Craddock, now Lord Howden, when this corps embarked from the Cape of Good Hope in 1814, expressed himself in the following terms: Describing "the respect and esteem of the inhabitants, with their regret at parting with men who will ever be borne in remembrance as *kind friends* and *honourable soldiers*," he adds, "The Commander of the Forces anxiously joins in the public voice, that so approved a corps, when called forth into the more active scenes that now await them in Europe, will confirm the well known maxim, that the most regular and best conducted troops in quarters are those who form the surest dependence, and will acquire the most renown in the field."

Such were these men in garrison, and such the expectation founded on their principles. How thoroughly they were guided by honour and loyalty in the field was shown at New Orleans. Although many of their countrymen, who had emigrated to America, were ready and anxious to receive them, there was not an instance of desertion; nor did one of those who were left behind, wounded or prisoners, forget their allegiance, and remain in that country, at the

* General Beckwith's General Orders.

same time that desertions from the British army were but too frequent. Men like these do credit to the peasantry of their country, and contribute to raise the national character. If this conclusion is well founded, the removal of so many of the people from their ancient seats, *where they acquired those habits and principles*, may be considered a public loss of no common magnitude. In the new stations, where so many Highlanders are now placed, and crowded in such numbers as to preserve the numerical population, while whole districts are left without inhabitants, can they resume their ancient character and principles, which, according to the reports of those employed by the proprietors, have been so deplorably broken down and deteriorated; a deterioration which was entirely unknown till the recent change in the condition of the people, and the introduction of a new system, and every way opposite to the probity, religious and domestic habits of the same people, when placed in situations and in societies where there was more danger of losing, than chance of acquiring, such valuable habits? It is only when parents and heads of families in the Highlands are moral, happy, and contented, that they can instil sound principles into their children, who, in their intercourse with the world, may once more become what the men of Sutherland have already been,— "an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all."

# SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

OR

## ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS,

SECOND BATTALION.

### 1804.

WHILE the first battalion of the 78th was employed in India in the year 1804, under the Honourable Major-General Wellesley, orders were issued to add a second battalion of 800 men to the regiment. The officers were to raise men in certain proportions, according to the rank they were to hold, and to recruit them in Scotland, and, if possible, in the Highlands. * The latter injunction, however, was not strictly observed, as upwards of forty men were from Ireland, and from the south side of the border. Of these, twenty-two were old soldiers received from the veteran battalions, for the purpose, as was said, of laying the foundation of discipline in a regiment of very young soldiers, as this was expected to be.

The head-quarters were established at Fort George; this being the fourth battalion embodied in that garrison, under the influence of the family of Seaforth, in the course of thirty years. † But as Lord Seaforth was, at this time, in the West Indies, his influence was less exerted than on former occasions when he himself, like his predecessor, com-

* The proportions, or quotas, for each rank were 100 men for a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, 90 for a Majority, 50 for a Company, 25 for a Lieutenancy, and 20 for an Ensigncy; officers to take rank according to the dates of their former commissions.

† The 78th regiment in the year 1779, the 78th in the year 1794, a second battalion of 960 men in the same year, and this battalion in 1804.

manded in person. However, two hundred men were raised in the island of Lewis, part of the Seaforth estates; and several other detachments were brought from other parts of this extensive property.

In December 1804 a battalion of 850 men was assembled at Fort George, and inspected by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly in January 1805, when the following officers were appointed:

*Colonel,* Major-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser of Castle Fraser, died Lieutenant-General 1809.

*Lieutenant-Colonel,* Patrick Macleod, (Geanies,) killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

*Majors.*

David Stewart, (Garth,) Colonel on half-pay.
James Macdonell, (Glengary,) Colonel, and Major Coldstream Guards.

*Captains.*

Alexander Wishart, dead.
Duncan Macpherson, Major 78th regiment.
James Macvean, do. do.
Charles William Maclean, retired.
Duncan Macgregor, Major on half-pay.
William Anderson, dead.
Robert Henry Dick, Lieutenant-Colonel 42d regiment.
Colin Campbell Mackay, (Bighouse,) Major on half-pay.
George Mackay, do.

*Lieutenants.*

William Balvaird, Major Rifle Brigade.
Patrick Strachan, dead.
James Macpherson, killed in Java in 1814.
William Mackenzie Dick, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.
John Matheson, Captain on half-pay.
Cornwallis Bowen, dead.
William Mackenzie, Captain on half-pay.
Malcolm Macgregor, Captain 78th regiment.
James Mackay, Captain on half-pay.
Thomas Hamilton, dead.
Robert Nicholson, dead.
Charles Grant, Captain on half-pay.

Horace St Paul, Lieutenant-Colonel on half-pay.
George William Bowes, dead.
William Matheson, dead.
William Cameron, Captain on half-pay.

*Ensigns.*

John Mackenzie Stewart, retired.
John Munro, killed in 1811 in Java.
Christopher Macrae, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.
Roderick Macqueen, dead.
Neil Campbell, Captain on half-pay.
John L. Strachan, dead.
Alexander Cameron, dead.
Alexander Gallie, retired.
Robert Burnet, Captain 14th Foot.
*Paymaster*, James Ferguson, dead.
*Adjutant*, William Mackenzie, Captain.
*Quartermaster*, John Macpherson, retired.
*Surgeon*, Thomas Draper, Deputy-Inspector.
*Assistant-Surgeon*, William Munro, Surgeon on half-pay.

Several of the officers recruited their quotas very quickly; others were not so successful, which is less a matter of surprise, than that so many men should have been enlisted, considering the number drawn from the Highlands in the same year, and during the first five months of the preceding, being nearly double the number that fought under the Duke of Wellington at the battle of Assaye, under General Stuart at Maida, or under General Graham at Barossa. *

* The numbers were,

| | |
|---|---|
| For the army of reserve, | 1651 |
| Militia.—Inverness, Ross, Argyle, Perth, &c. &c. | 2599 |
| Supplementary ditto, | 870 |
| Canadian Fencibles, | 850 |
| 2d Battalion of the 78th regiment, | 714 |
| 2d Battalion of the 79th ditto, | 618 |
| Highlanders as substitutes in Militia regiments, | 963 |
| Recruits enlisted by the parties of the line, not exactly known, but estimated at | 350 |
| Total, | 8615 |

This corps, and the second battalion of the 79th, raised the same year, were the last corps recruited in the north, under the influence of any particular family, or by officers for commissions. The system of recruiting for rank has frequently been reprobated, and has, indeed, in many cases, been the means of introducing bad subjects into the service, as was experienced in 1793 and 1794, when officers, in their eagerness to recruit their complement of men, resorted to large towns; but that this mode of employing gentlemen of family, rank, and influence in the north, was admirably adapted to the character, habits, and circumstances of the people; and that it had been eminently successful there, is manifest from the character of the regiments embodied in the Seven Years' War, and in that of the American Revolution; and still more recently in the last war, in which were raised the 78th, 79th, 92d, and 98d, and many other regiments of the Line and Fencibles. The system upon which these regiments were raised could not, at that period at least, have been a bad one, as it was the means of introducing them into the service; but whether it shall meet with equal success in future, is a question which experience alone can decide.

When this battalion was embodied General Moore was stationed at Hythe with his brigade, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments. At that time these two regiments were the most perfectly disciplined in the service, having been completed in that system of field exercise which, as I have already noticed, was first suggested and put in practice by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Major-General) Kenneth Mackenzie. Desirous to initiate a young corps in this system, before they had been practised in any other, the General, in a fortunate hour for these young men, applied for their re-

In these numbers the native Highlanders only are included; as, for instance, in the Perthshire army of reserve, there were only 189, and in the Militia only 201 Highlanders, whereas the total number of both forces raised in 1803 for that county was 1469 men.

moval to his brigade. The battalion was, accordingly, embarked at Fort George in March, and reached Hythe in April 1805.

Few young corps were ever instructed in military discipline under more favourable auspices than this which was trained under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore, assisted by the non-commissioned officers of his brigade. He began by instructing the officers and non-commissioned officers in the first principles of regular and connected movements, and in the firelock exercise; and when they were so far complete that they could communicate what they had acquired, they were sent to teach the soldiers. Those that were deficient in the necessary duties, or were slower in acquiring them, remained in the ranks with the soldiers, and no officer was allowed to quit them till he had become a thorough proficient in that in which he was to direct and instruct others. The men were called out four times a day, but never much beyond an hour at a time. During these short periods they went through their task with spirit and without fatigue; their minds were on the alert, and their attention was not suffered to wander.

The General himself was indefatigable, and was frequently four times in one day on the drill ground, going from squad to squad giving directions, and often forming the men in positions with his own hands. Strict and rigorous when necessary, no man was more easy and indulgent when that necessity ceased, or when an officer or soldier properly understood and performed his duty. Of these young soldiers he entertained a very favourable opinion; and often mentioned, that they were, in every way, such as he would wish to mould and form. His firm opinion was, that they would never fail in the hour of trial. Unfortunately, however, the regiment was too early removed from his brigade, and before their discipline was completely confirmed; as the pressure of the service called them to another quarter. *

* As one of the objects I have in view is to point out such characteristic traits of disposition, principle, and habits, as may be in any way

General Fox, Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, having applied for a change of garrison, two Highland regiments, the 42d and 78th, were ordered on that duty, and, in September 1805, embarked at Portsmouth, being then under the command of the Honourable Major-General John Hope. The fleet, under the convoy of Captain Charles Ogle, encountered part of the bad weather which occasioned such destruction after the battle of Trafalgar, took

interesting, I shall notice the following circumstance, which occurred while this regiment lay at Hythe. In the month of June orders were issued for one field officer and four subalterns to join the 1st battalion in India. The day before the field officer fixed on for this purpose left the regiment, the soldiers held conferences with each other in the barracks, and, in the evening, several deputations were sent to him, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to make application either to be allowed to remain with them, or obtain permission for them to accompany him. He returned his acknowledgments for their attachment, and for their spirited offer; but, as duty required his presence in India, while their services were at present confined to this country, they must, therefore, separate for some time. The next evening, when he went from the barracks to the town of Hythe, to take his seat in the coach for London, two-thirds of the soldiers, and officers in the same proportion, accompanied him, all of them complaining of being left behind. They so crowded round the coach as to impede its progress for a considerable length of time, till at last the guard was obliged to desire the coachman to force his way through them. Upon this the soldiers, who hung by the wheels, horses, harness, and coach doors, gave way, and allowed a passage. There was not a dry eye amongst the younger part of them. Such a scene as this, happening to more than 600 men, and in the streets of a town, could not pass unnoticed, and was quickly reported to General Moore, whose mind was always alive to the advantages of mutual confidence and esteem between officers and soldiers. The circumstance was quite suited to his chivalrous mind. He laid the case before the Commander-in-Chief; and his Royal Highness, with that high feeling which he has always shown when a case has been properly represented, ordered that at present there should be no separation, and that the field-officer should return to the battalion in which he had so many friends ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and when brought in front of an enemy, either to compel them to fly, or perish in the field.

shelter in the Tagus, and, sailing from thence in the beginning of November, in a few days landed at Gibraltar.* In the month of May the regiment was ordered for Sicily, and embarked in good health. But their arrival at Messina was a disappointment to Sir John Stuart, then in command there, who, instead of a corps of boys, expected the 42d, having, at that time, in contemplation, the expedition to Calabria. Though I have reason to believe that his disappointment was great, it was not lasting.

Some time previous to the arrival of this regiment in Sicily, the Royal Family of Naples had been forced to take shelter in Palermo, principally under the protection of the British troops then stationed in Sicily. General Stuart was warmly solicited, by the Queen of Naples, to attempt a landing in Calabria, in support of the Calabrese, who had preserved, unshaken, their loyalty to the King, and had continued to oppose the French.

The peninsula of Calabria is mountainous, broken with numberless rocky eminences and deep ravines, and, consequently, extremely well adapted for defensive warfare. The people are a warlike, hardy race; among whom may be discovered many traces of the feudal institutions, and of the rivalry common between the tribes in the North of Scotland previous to the middle of the last century. But, although, in some traits, they bore a resemblance to our Highlanders, in others they greatly differed from them, and in none more than in attachment to their chiefs. The Calabrese nobles, residing much at Court, were unknown to their people, except through the exactions of inferior

* I have already mentioned the inflammatory disorders and tumours by which the young men were attacked at Hythe, in consequence of a larger allowance of animal food than they had been in the habit of using. The same disorder continued in Gibraltar for some months, although the 42d was remarkably healthy. But the men of that corps had been longer absent from their native country, and had become habituated to animal food.

agents, the severity of which tended to alienate their affections. But, although many were estranged from their immediate superiors, they were loyal to their King, and now declared themselves ready to join any British armament that might land on their coast to support his government.

Encouraged by these assurances, urged by the Queen, and perhaps desirous of performing some exploit calculated to give eclat to his command before the arrival of General Fox appointed to supersede him, General Stuart, fortunately for his military fame and that of his country, determined on a landing in Calabria, with the view of encouraging the Calabrese, and of destroying the military stores, and extensive magazines of provisions which had been established by the French at Monte-Leone, and other parts of the province.

The troops intended for this expedition embarked at Melazzo in the end of June 1806. These consisted of the grenadier and light infantry battalions, formed of all the grenadier and light infantry companies of the army in Sicily, (except those of the 78th, which remained with the regiment,) together with the 27th, 58th, 78th, 81st, and Watteville's, regiments, with two companies of the Corsican Rangers, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery under Major Lemoine, amounting to 4,200 men, exclusive of the 20th regiment, which embarked afterwards, making in all 4,790 men. The Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, being employed to the northward on the Neapolitan coast, this armament sailed from Melazzo under convoy of Captain Brenton, and anchored in the extensive bay of St Euphemia on the 1st of July.

The grenadiers, light infantry, and Highlanders, were immediately landed without opposition; but as the troops advanced into the country, some resistance was made by a body of the enemy, who were quickly driven back. The army soon followed, and took up a good position close to the village of St Euphemia, where they remained till the even-

ing of the 3d, when information was received that General Regnier had advanced to the neighbourhood of the village of Maida, with an intention of attacking the British the following morning. General Stuart, desirous to anticipate the intentions of his opponent, ordered the troops under arms, and marched along the edge of the bay till eleven o'clock at night, when he halted till day-light of the 4th, and then, resuming his march, crossed the mouth of the Amato, at that dry season fordable at all points, and halted on an extensive plain, where he made his arrangements for an attack. *

The army was drawn up, having in its rear the head of the bay, and, in front a broad and extensive valley, level in the centre, and bounded on both sides by high, and, in some places, precipitous hills, with woods covering their sides in many parts, and, in others, with corn fields up to a considerable height. This valley, which is of unequal breadth, being in some places four miles, and in others not more than two, runs across the Calabrian peninsula, from St Euphemia to Cortona, on the Adriatic, intersected, at intervals, to nearly one-half its breadth, by high ridges, which run out at right angles from the mountains, forming the lateral boundaries of the plain. These were now covered with ripe corn, part of which had been cut down, while, in different fields, parties of the inhabitants were reaping. The nearest of these collateral ridges, which jut out from the

* This little army was brigaded as follows:—The light brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel James Kempt, was composed of the light infantry companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st regiments, of two companies of Corsican Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson Lowe, and of 150 chosen men of the 35th regiment, under Major George Robertson. The first brigade, Brigadier-General Auckland, consisted of the 78th and 81st regiments. The second, Brigadier-General Lowrie Cole, was formed of the grenadier companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st, under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel O'Calloghan, and the 27th regiment. The reserve, Colonel John Oswald, consisted of the 58th and Watteville's regiment.

mountains, was steep on the sides, and covered with wood, except on the summit, which was clear and level. On the summit of one of those ridges, at somewhat more than four miles distance, the army of General Regnier was seen drawn up in columns, apparently ready, either to descend to the plains, or to await the attack of the British. General Stuart had now to come to an instant decision. Disappointed of the support of the Calabrese, of whom not more than one thousand had joined, and these badly armed and worse disciplined, and therefore of no use in the attack, and being also informed that a reinforcement of 3,000 men was expected by the enemy, on the following day, he had no alternative but an immediate advance, or a retreat, either to the ships or to some strong position.

To retreat was little congenial to the spirit of the commander; and, accordingly, actuated by the same confidence in his little army, which had encouraged him to engage in the enterprise, he resolved upon advancing, little aware that the expected addition to the enemy's force had already taken place. While General Stuart's ignorance of this fact confirmed his resolution to attempt the strong position of the enemy, the consciousness of superior numbers gave additional confidence to General Regnier, who, looking down upon his enemy from his elevated position, could now count every file below; and who, as it is said, called out to his troops to mark his confidence in their invincible courage, and his contempt for the English, whose presumption in landing with so small a force, he was determined to punish by driving them into the sea. Accordingly, giving orders to march, he descended the hill, in three lines, through narrow paths in the woods, and formed on the plain below. His army consisted of more than 7,000 men, with 300 cavalry, and a considerable train of field artillery. He drew up his troops in two parallel lines of equal numbers, with artillery and cavalry on both flanks, and with field pieces placed in different parts of the line. To oppose this force, General Stuart

placed in the front line the light brigade of Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt on the right, the Highland regiment in the centre, and the 81st on the left.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the corps composing the first line advanced, the enemy commencing his forward march (presenting a parallel front) nearly at the same moment. The distance between the armies was, at this time, nearly three miles, and the ground perfectly level, intersected only by drains, to carry off the water in the rainy season, but not so large as to intercept the advance of the field pieces. When the first brigade moved forward, the second halted for a short time, and then proceeded, followed by the reserve. The forward movement of the opposing lines lessened the intervening distance in a double ratio. The first brigade passed over several corn fields, with parties of reapers, who eagerly pointed out the advance of the enemy, then at the distance of less than a mile. On a nearer approach they opened their field pieces, and, contrary to the usual practice of the French artillery, with little effect, the greater part of the shot passing over the first line, and not reaching the second.

This was an interesting spectacle. Two armies in parallel lines, in march towards each other, on a smooth and clear plain, and in dead silence, only interrupted by the report of the enemy's guns; it was more like a chosen field fixed upon by a general officer for exercise, or to exhibit a sham fight, than, as it proved, an accidental encounter, and a real battle. No two rival commanders could ever wish for a finer field, for a trial of the courage and firmness of their respective combatants; and as there were some present who recollected the contempt with which General Regnier, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, had chosen to treat the British, there was as much feeling mixed up with the usual incitements, as, perhaps, in any modern engagement, excepting that most important of all modern battles, where Buonaparte for the first, and perhaps the last time, met a British army in the field.

To the young Highlanders, of whom nearly 600 were under age, the officers, with very few exceptions, being equally young, and inexperienced, it was a critical moment. If we consider a formidable line, which, from numbers, greatly out-flanked our first line, supported by an equally strong second line, the glancing of whose bayonets was seen over the heads of the first; the advance of so preponderating a force on the three regiments of the first brigade, (the second being considerably in the rear,) was sufficiently trying, particularly for the young Highlanders. Much depended on the event of the first onset; if that were successful, their native courage would be animated, and would afterwards stand a more severe trial. In this mutual advance, the opposing troops were in full view of each other, which enabled our men to make their remarks on the marching, and on the manner in which the enemy advanced. They did not always preserve a correct steady line, but sometimes allowed openings and intervals by careless marching; showing, as the soldiers observed, that they did not march so steadily as they themselves did. Additional circumstances inspired still greater confidence. I have already noticed that the enemy's guns were not well served, and pointed too high: not so the British. When our artillery opened, under the direction of Major Lemoine, and Captain Dougal Campbell, no practice could be more perfect. Every shot told, and carried off a file of the enemy's line. When the shot struck the line, two or three files; on the right and left of the men thrown down, gave way, leaving a momentary opening before they recovered and closed up the vacancy. The inexperienced young Highlanders, believing that all in the vacant spaces had been carried off, shouted with exultation at the evident superiority. It is not often, that, in this manner, two hostile lines in a reciprocally forward movement, at a slow but firm pace, can make their observations while advancing, with a seeming determination to conquer or perish on the spot. Those criticisms were, however, to be soon checked by the mutual forward movement on which they were

founded. The lines were fast closing, but with perfect regularity and firmness. They were now within three hundred yards distance, and a fire having commenced, between the sharpshooters on the right, it was time to prepare for an immediate shock. The enemy seemed to hesitate, halted, and fired a volley. Our line also halted, and instantly returned the salute, and when the men had reloaded, a second volley was thrown in.* As soon as the smoke had cleared off, so that the enemy could be seen, the line advanced at full charge. The enemy, with seeming resolution to stand the shock, kept perfectly steady, till, apparently intimidated by the advance, equally rapid and firm, of an enemy, too, who, they were taught to believe, would fly before them, their hearts failed, and they faced to the right about, and fled with speed, but not in confusion. When they approached within a short distance of their second line, they halted, fronted, and opened a fire of musquetry on our line, which did not follow up the charge to any distance, but halted, to allow the men to draw breath, and to close up any small breaks in the line. They were soon ready, however, to advance again. A constant running fire was now kept up on the march, the enemy continuing the same, but retiring slowly as they fired, until they threw their first line on the second. They then seemed determined to make a resolute stand, thus giving our line the advantage of sooner closing upon them; but they would not stand the shock; they gave way in greater confusion than in the first instance. They had now lost a considerable number of men.

* The precision with which these two volleys were fired, and their effect, were quite remarkable. When the clearing off of the smoke (there was hardly a breath of wind to dispel it) enabled us to see the French line, the breaks and vacancies caused by the men who had fallen by the fire appeared like a paling, of which parts had been thrown down or broken. On our side it was so different, that, glancing along the rear of my regiment, I counted only fourteen who had fallen from the enemy's fire.

At this period the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but, either from the horses not being properly broke, or, rather from the sharp running fire kept up in their faces, the dragoons could not, with all their exertions, bring them to the charge. At last, finding their efforts unavailing, they galloped round the flanks of their line to the rear, turned their horses loose, and fought on foot.

Both the lines of the enemy were now completely intermixed, and Regnier, who was seen riding about, and, from his violent gesticulations, seemingly in great agitation, seeing himself completely foiled in his attack on the front, and being driven back more than a mile, made an attempt to turn the left flank. For this purpose, he brought some battalions, by an oblique movement, to the British left, and gained so much on that flank, that the second line (the grenadier battalions and 27th regiment which now came up under General Cole) could not form the line in continuation. Throwing back their left, they, therefore, formed in an angle of about sixty degrees to the front line, and, in this position, opened a most admirably directed and destructive fire, which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. While in this angular formation, the fire was incessantly and admirably sustained, till a circumstance occurred in the centre which gave the enemy a momentary advantage, but from which they afterwards suffered severely.

On the side of the French there was a Swiss regiment, commanded by an officer of the family of Watteville; a family which had also a regiment in our service, and in the field that day. The Watteville regiment in the French service was dressed in a kind of light claret coloured uniform, something like scarlet when much worn, and with hats so much resembling those of the band of our Watteville's, that, when this corps was seen advancing from their second line, the Highlanders, in their inexperience, believed they were our own, who had, in some manner, got to the front; and a word passed quickly to cease firing. The fire had, accordingly, slackened, before the voice of the mounted officers,

whose elevated position enabled them to distinguish more clearly, could be heard, and the enemy, believing this relaxation to proceed from a different cause, advanced with additional boldness. This brought them so close, that when the men were undeceived and recommenced firing, it was with such effect, that, in ten minutes, the front was cleared, and the enemy driven back with great precipitation. Indeed, the precision with which the men took their aim, during the whole action, was admirable, and clearly established the perfect self-possession and coolness of their minds.

Unwilling to break the continuity of the narrative of the proceedings on the centre and the left, where the action was now nearly finished, I have delayed noticing the movements of Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt's light brigade. This corps had for some time been exercised in an uniform manner, under the training of that officer, and they now even exceeded the high expectations formed of them and their spirited commander. The party of the Corsican Rangers attached to the light infantry were on the right. When the line advanced within reach of musquetry, they were sent out on the flank and in front to skirmish, but, on the first fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, they retreated in great haste. * This, in some cases, would have been an inauspicious, if not a fatal commencement of battle, when so much was to be done, and so superior a force to be opposed. But, here, this repulse did not extend beyond those who

* The extended scale of British warfare, in proportion to our population, renders the employment of foreign troops indispensable. But the practice of filling up the numbers of an armament, or expedition, need not be carried so far as to place untried troops of other nations in the front, or in situations where their failure must endanger the safety or success of an army. It would be unpleasant to state instances of such failures, but I could give several of which I have been an eye-witness. It is not easy to see the necessity of placing foreign troops, many of whom have deserted their own standards, among the choice of the British army, before their courage and fidelity had been fairly proved. I believe General Stuart heartily repented the arrangement he had made.

gave way to the panic, and the light company of the 20th regiment, who had the right of the line, rushed forward, and, in an instant, drove off the party which had advanced on the Corsicans, but with the loss of Captain Maclaine, the only officer killed on that day. In a few minutes after this, the hostile lines came within charge distance; and the left of the enemy pushing forward, both lines had nearly met, when, "at this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled, broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late;—they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter." *

I now return to the centre and left, which continued hotly engaged, always vigorously pushing the enemy, who still endeavoured to gain upon the flank. But in this he was frustrated by the continued advance of the British, who preserved the same angular formation, the first line moving directly on its original front, and the second in an oblique direction, with its right touching the left of the first.

The fire now slackened, the enemy having lost much ground, being repulsed in every attempt, and having sustained an unusual, and, indeed, altogether an extraordinary loss of men. But General Regnier, despairing of success against Colonel Kempt's light corps on the right, and still pushed by the troops in the centre and left, prepared to make a desperate push, in order to take our line in flank on the left. At this moment the 20th regiment marched up, and formed on the left, nearly at right angles to General Cole's brigade. This regiment had, that morn-

* The order of battle in both armies happened to be such, that the first light infantry of the French, who might be called the *élite* of their corps, were immediately opposed to the British light corps. It was probably owing to this circumstance, and their idea of their superiority, that they advanced to the charge on Colonel Kempt's brigade, while the troops to their right stood without advancing to meet the charge of the Highlanders and the 81st regiment. It is hardly worth while to notice the casual coincidence of the names of the corps of both armies: the French had a light corps, a 42d, a grenadier battalion, an 81st, and a Watteville's regiment. But our Watteville's, being in the reserve, was never brought forward to the front.

ing, disembarked in the Bay from Sicily, (the scarcity of transports preventing their earlier arrival,) and Lieutenant-Colonel Ross having landed with great promptitude, the moment he heard the firing, moved forward with such celerity, that he reached the left of the line as the enemy were pushing round to turn the flank. Colonel Ross formed his regiment with his right supported by the left of the 27th, and opposed a full front to the enemy. This reinforcement seemed to destroy all farther hopes of the enemy. So feeble was this last attempt, that when Colonel Ross ordered out 80 men to act as sharpshooters in his front, they could not face even this small detachment.

The battle was now over. The confidence which had animated the enemy during the greater part of the action appeared to have at last totally forsaken them; they gave way at all points, in the greatest confusion, numbers, to assist their speed, throwing away their arms, accoutrements, and every incumbrance. The length of the action, the excessive heat of a mid-day sun in the south of Italy on the 4th of July, the want of rest, and the fatigue during the previous night, the men having lain on their arms, and, above all, the rapidity with which the enemy retreated, rendered the capture of many prisoners impossible. The light infantry and the Highlanders were ordered out in pursuit, but in vain; the fugitives ran too swiftly; neither the Highlanders, with their light loose garb, nor the light infantry, the choice of the army, could overtake them. I have more than once had occasion to mention, that few things increase a man's speed more effectually than the terror of a bayonet or bullet in his rear. The pursuer, having no such excitement, will not, perhaps, so eagerly exert his speed. If General Stuart had on this day had a few hundred cavalry to gallop round the flank, and intercept the flying enemy in front, while the infantry were pursuing in their rear, the whole must have surrendered.

The disadvantage so frequently experienced in the trans-

marine expeditions of England, occasioned by the want of ships for the conveyance of a sufficient number of troops, was now severely felt; for although the field was most favourable for the operations of cavalry, that arm was, on the present occasion, totally wanting. As soon as the ships had landed the infantry at St Euphemia, they were ordered back for the cavalry, who arrived the day after the battle. Few victories, however, have been more complete, and as under equal advantages of ground, of discipline in the troops, and ability in the commanders, a hard fought battle is the more honourable, if gained with little loss to the victors, and with great destruction to the vanquished; so that engagement must be particularly so in which a greatly superior force is totally routed with a loss in killed of more than 30 to 1;—that is, on the present occasion, with a loss of 1,300 killed of the French to 41 of the British. The disparity of numbers being so great, the proofs of courage and other military qualities, on the part of the victors, are conclusive. Equally decisive were the advantages on the side of the victors, in regard to the subsequent operations of the campaign; for while the English army was, on the following morning, but little diminished, and quite prepared to meet a fresh opponent, if such could have been brought against it, the enemy were so dispirited, that, on no after occasion, did they attempt to make a stand, which, indeed, their reduced numbers rendered impossible. Their loss was 1,300 killed, and 1,100 wounded, left on the field, besides the slightly wounded who retired to their rear. Upwards of 200 of the latter were taken afterwards, in the hospital at Cortona, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

The loss of the British was, Captain Maclaine of the 20th regiment, 3 serjeants, and 41 rank and file, killed; and 11 officers, 8 serjeants, and 261 rank and file wounded. The loss of the Highlanders was 7 rank and file killed, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod, Major David Stewart, Captains Duncan M'Pherson and Duncan M'Gregor, Lieutenant James Mackay, Ensign Colin Mackenzie, Peter

M'Gregor, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 69 rank and file, wounded.

It was not till after the action that the full extent of the advantages acquired, and the numerical superiority of the French, were completely known. The reinforcements expected by the enemy, by the supposed non-arrival of which Sir John Stuart was induced to attack, without waiting for the cavalry and the 20th regiment, had joined General Regnier the preceding evening, and had augmented his army to upwards of 7,000 men.* But this accession of force, instead of securing to the French General the certain conquest he expected, was, in fact, the probable cause of his defeat. The additional confidence inspired into a mind already disposed to look on his enemy with contempt, made him descend from a position so easily defensible, and so difficult of approach, that, had he maintained it, the boldest attempts of his opponents would, in all probability, have been fruitless, or, if successful, attended with a loss which would have rendered further operations impossible. But, blinded by excessive confidence, he surrendered this great natural advantage, and marched down to the plain, "to drive the English," as he said, "into the sea."†

* One of the prisoners, an officer of rank, told me that their force exceeded 8,000, but returns found after the battle stated the number at 7,600.

† The remarks on the British army, in General Regnier's work on the expedition to Egypt, and his attempts to lessen the honour of that conquest, are generally known. It will be recollected, that, in his account of the battle of Alexandria, he stated, that the Highland soldiers (of the 42d) took shelter under the bellies of the French horses. I cannot fully contradict this assertion, as it is impossible for any individual to see every circumstance in a field of battle. I can only say, I saw nothing like the fact thus asserted, nor have I ever met with any who did; and it may easily be supposed, that a better expedient for attaining personal safety might have been devised than that of creeping under the bellies of enraged horses. Indeed, it must have required some courage to adopt it, considering that well armed dragoons were on the backs of these novel protectors. General Regnier, when he left Monte Leone to meet General Stuart, invited the inhabitants to a grand fête, which he was to give them in honour of his victory.

In this battle, the whole force of the enemy was brought into action. On the side of the British, the reserve was not brought into the line at all. Colonel Kempt's brigade, and the Highlanders, and 81st regiment, composing the first line, amounting to about 2,060 men, drove the enemy to a considerable distance, forcing back their first line on their second, and had completely defeated Regnier's object in front, before our second line, of 1,145 men, came up. These soon drove the enemy from their front, so that, when the 20th regiment, consisting of 564 men, arrived, the battle was so far finished, that, as has been mentioned, when the 80 men ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross to his front advanced to clear the ground, the total rout took place. And thus, in fact, 2,060 men of the front line discomfited the enemy in the first instance, and gave a complete shock to their sanguine hopes, while the whole number of British engaged only amounted to 3,769 firelocks, besides 50 artillery men.

But however complete were the defeat and dispersion of the enemy, this short campaign ended, as was then but too common in our expeditions, from the want of a sufficient force to *preserve* what had been previously *acquired*. In a few days the army marched to Monte Leone, where a quantity of stores was seized and destroyed, and, after traversing all the southern peninsula of Calabria, embarked in August at Reggio for Sicily, but not before the malaria or pestilential air of the country, which is so deadly at that season of the year, had attacked some of the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone and eight officers of the 58th regiment fell a sacrifice, before the troops passed over to Sicily, where Lieutenant-General Fox had arrived and had taken the command, on the 29th of July. In a few months afterwards, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore arrived from England, with a reinforcement of troops. *

* The ophthalmia, from which the troops in the Mediterranean suffered so much a few years before, had now entirely disappeared in that part of the world, and a case did not occur till the 52d and other regiments, then arrived under General Moore, brought the disease from England, where they had caught it from those who had been in Egypt

Sicily now contained a considerable British force, but no active operations were attempted till March 1807, when Major-General Mackenzie Fraser embarked with a detachment of artillery, the 20th light dragoons, the 31st, 35th, 78th, De Rolle's regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, having with him Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-Generals the Honourable William Stewart and the Honourable Robert Meade.

The object of this armament was to occupy Alexandria, Rosetta, and that part of the coast of Egypt. The troops sailed on the 6th of March. Some bad weather occurring on the passage, the Apollo frigate, with nineteen transports, parted company, but the Commodore, with the others, anchored on the 16th off Arabs Tower, to the west of Alexandria. Major Misset, who had been left as British Resident, when General Stuart, with the army, evacuated Egypt in 1802, immediately sent off letters to the commanders, pressing them to land immediately, as the inhabitants were favourably disposed, and informing them that the troops in garrison did not exceed 500 men. Owing, however, to the absence of so large a proportion of his force, the General hesitated to comply; but the Resident, making more urgent representations on the danger of delay, part of the troops were landed on the 17th, and the remainder on the 18th. On the same evening they moved forward with an intention of attacking the city, or of getting round to the eastward, beyond Pompey's Pillar, in order thus to be nearer their supplies from the fleet in Aboukir Bay.

in 1801; and thus the men in these corps, who had never been from home, now spread the contagion among the troops in Sicily. It seems extraordinary, that a disease, supposed to originate from the sun, and a white, hot soil, should be retained in the gloomy, cloudy, climate of England and Scotland, (Dundee barracks were strongly infected with it for several years,) and totally disappear in the sunshine of the Mediterranean,—more particularly in Malta, where the white rocks, reflecting the rays of the sun with force, must be more than commonly prejudicial to the eyes. An inquiry, by a competent individual, into the causes of this remarkable fact, could hardly fail to prove very interesting.

The troops attacked and forced an intrenchment with a deep ditch, having Fort de Bains on its right flank, mounted with thirteen guns, which played with little effect. When they reached Pompey's Pillar they found the garrison prepared to receive them, and the walls lined with troops. This preparation for resistance to his small force induced the General to proceed farther to the eastward; and, accordingly, on the morning of the 19th, he took up a position on the ground which had been occupied in March 1801. On the 20th the town was summoned and surrendered on the same day. In the evening the Apollo, with the other transports which had parted company in the gale, anchored in Aboukir Bay; and, on the 22d, Vice-Admiral Duckworth, with a fleet from the Dardanelles, arrived at the same anchorage.

On the 27th of March, Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Meade, with the 31st regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, were detached for the purpose of taking possession of the fort and heights of Aboumondour on the banks of the Nile, at a short distance above Rosetta, and from thence of Rosetta itself. The first part of the service was accomplished without opposition.

A town, like Rosetta, with high houses, flat roofed, and windows like loop-holes, and with streets only a few feet wide, forms a better defence to a weak enemy, than a walled town which brave troops might scale in the face of strong opposition. General Wauchope, in the firmness of his own mind, slighted these defences, and forgetting that an imbecile enemy may become formidable if placed out of danger, he marched into the town at the head of the 31st regiment, directing his course to an open space, or market place, in the centre of the town. The streets were totally deserted, not a sound was to be heard, nor a person to be seen. When they had proceeded half-way to the market place, in an instant every house was in a blaze from the first floor to the roof; showers of musquetry were fired from every part, while the troops were unable to return a

shot with any effect. There was not a man in sight, nor had they any thing to direct their fire but the smoke, and flashes from the muzzles of their opponents' guns, pointed out of the loop-hole windows, and over the eaves and roofs of the houses. To remain in this situation, exposed to an invisible and sheltered enemy, would only have been a sacrifice of the troops. They, therefore, retired with the loss of the brave General killed, General Meade wounded, and nearly 300 soldiers and officers killed and wounded.

This repulse disconcerted the whole enterprise, and the troops retired to Aboukir, whence they were ordered to Alexandria. The General being still anxious to get possession of Rosetta, a second attempt was made, and the 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, were ordered on this service, under the command of Brigadier-General William Stewart and Colonel Oswald; General Fraser remaining at Alexandria, with the 31st and the Chasseurs.

This detachment marched on the 3d, and, after some trifling skirmishes, took possession of Aboumondour on the 7th of April. The enemy were quickly driven into the town, which, on the following day, was summoned to surrender. The summons being ineffectual, batteries were commenced, and, on the soft sandy soil, were soon ready to open. From the extent of the town, in comparison of the limited number of troops, it was impossible to invest the whole, or to prevent a free communication across the Nile to the Delta, whence reinforcements, and supplies of provisions, could be easily received. A line was taken up between the Nile and the gate of Alexandria. The batteries opened their fire, but with little effect, on the heavy and strong masses of buildings. The shot, plunging and burying itself in the houses, did but little damage, as they contained scarcely any furniture. The Turks and Albanians gave themselves no concern about the fate of the inhabitants, looking upon them with the same indifference as the Dey of Algiers did on his subjects, when a British Admiral

threatened to bombard and blow the town about his ears. He asked what would be the probable expence to the English of destroying the town, and being informed, answered, "At that rate, and to save them some money, I will undertake to do it myself for half the price."

There was but little chance that such an enemy would be affected by the destruction of lives or houses. General Stewart was wounded at the commencement of these operations, but, with his usual spirit and zeal, he refused to retire, on account of a wound that did not totally disable him, and kept the field during the whole time. At this period, much was expected from the co-operation of the Mamalukes from Upper Egypt, but no intelligence had hitherto been received respecting them.

On the 16th, Major Macdonell, of the 78th, with 250 men, and Lieutenant John Robertson, with 40 seamen, from the Tigre, were detached across the river opposite to Aboumondour, to destroy some batteries which the enemy had erected on the Delta, for the purpose of taking our batteries in flank. After a considerable circuit to prevent his movements from being observed, Major Macdonell came upon the rear of the batteries at sun-rise, and attacked the enemy with such spirit and vigour, that an effectual resistance was impracticable. He immediately turned the guns upon the town, but, the enemy soon collecting in force, he destroyed the batteries, embarked the guns, and recrossed the river, with only 4 men wounded.

On the 19th, little impression was made on the town, nor was there any appearance of the Mamalukes; while the enemy were increasing in number and boldness, and made several attacks on the picquets, and advanced posts between the Lake Etko and El Hamet, one of the picquets, commanded by Captain Rheinach of De Rolle's, being cut off, and the whole either killed or taken.

El Hamet is a village nearly six miles farther up the Nile above Rosetta. A dry canal, with a broad dike or embankment, runs between the Nile and the Lake Etho, a distance

of about two miles. Major Vogelsang of De Rolle's, with a detachment of his regiment, had been sent to El Hamet, and, on the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, with five companies of the Highlanders, two of the 35th regiment, and a few cavalry and artillery, was ordered to reinforce and take the command of the position which must have been of importance, because otherwise it would not have been established, at such a distance from the army, as to render immediate support impossible, if attacked by a superior force. When Colonel Macleod arrived, he stationed his men, amounting to 720, in three divisions, proportioning the dragoons and artillery between each: one party on the banks of the Nile, one in the centre, and the third on the dry canal. The ground was well adapted for the movements of cavalry, without any impediment except what the dike and dry canal presented. On the evening of the 20th all was quiet, but on the morning of the 21st, about seventy gherms, or large boats, full of troops, were seen slowly descending the Nile, and numerous bodies of cavalry collecting round the British posts, which remained in their different detached positions. Colonel Macleod proceeded to the post on the right, occupied by a company of the 35th and the Highland grenadiers, with an intention of concentrating his force, and, if unable to make an effectual opposition, of retreating to the camp at Rosetta.

The enemy landed from their boats with unusual alertness, and advanced on the left and centre posts, while the cavalry, with a body of Albanian infantry, surrounded the right of the position, and attacked it from all points with great fury. Forming a circle round the position, they fired in their usual confused manner, and directing their shot with so little aim to the centre, that, passing over, it struck their own men and horses on the opposite side. But their numbers and their bravery supplied the deficiency of discipline. The cavalry, charging up to the points of the bayonets, attempted to cut the soldiers down in the front of the square, which was every minute thinning in numbers,

and lessening in extent, the soldiers closing in upon the vacancies, as their comrades fell. Completely surrounded as they were, they could not venture to charge to either front of the square; for, if they attempted to advance on one front, an equal number of the enemy were ready to attack them in the rear the instant they faced. Thus were they beset on every front by a force so numerous, that the cavalry, in their different evolutions, as they advanced on the square, and were forced to retreat by its fire, frequently impeded their own movements by crossing and jostling each other. But the boldness of their attacks, however irregular, and the dexterity with which they handled the sword, proved destructive to the British. Colonel Macleod and all the officers were killed except Captain Mackay of the Highlanders, who was severely wounded. *

But neither the loss of their officers, nor the perseverance of the enemy, could dismay the few now remaining, or shake

* Serjeant John Macrae, a young man, about twenty-two years of age, but of great size and strength of arm, showed that the broad sword, in a firm hand, is as good a weapon in close fighting as the bayonet. If the first push of the bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon, and repeat the thrust, when the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms, while its motions defend the person using it. Macrae killed six men, cutting them down with his broad sword, (of the kind usually worn by serjeants of Highland corps,) when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down; but, as he was returning to the square, he was killed by a blow from behind, his head being nearly split in two by the stroke of a sabre. Lieutenant Christopher Macrae, whom I have already mentioned as having brought eighteen men of his own name to the regiment as part of his quota of recruits for an ensigncy, was killed in this affair, with six of his followers and namesakes, besides the serjeant. On the passage to Lisbon, in October 1805, the same serjeant came to me one evening, crying like a child, and complaining that the ship's cook had called him English names, which he did not understand, and thrown some fat in his face. Thus a lad, who in 1805 was so soft and so childish, displayed in 1807 a courage and vigour worthy a hero of Ossian.

their firmness, which was then the more necessary, as their diminished numbers gave fresh animation to the enemy. At length, when there were only eleven of the Highlanders, and an equally small number of the 35th, left standing, Captain Mackay, seeing that farther resistance would only expose the whole to speedy destruction, determined to make a desperate push to join the centre. He charged through the enemy, when several succeeded in gaining the position, but others dropped on the way, either killed or wounded. Captain Mackay was wounded in two places before he pushed off to the centre position. When he had nearly reached the post, an Arab horseman cut at his neck with such force, that, had it not been for the cape of his coat, and a stuffed neckcloth, both of which were unusually thick, his head would no doubt have been severed from his body. As it was, the sabre cut to the bone, and laid him flat on the ground, when he was taken up and carried in to the post by his serjeant, the only individual who escaped unhurt. The muscles of the neck were so much injured, that they could not bear the weight of the head without support, till some time afterwards, that the parts had united and gained strength.

Having been successful on the right, the enemy attacked the other posts with less vigour, being apparently satisfied with surrounding each till the fate of the operations on the right should be decided, and thus preventing any movement for its relief. Unfortunately the officers in charge of these posts, either from want of orders, or some other cause, made no attempt to close on each other, or on the post so hotly engaged. The enemy, by the destruction of that post, having gained an accession of disposable force, turned their whole weight on the centre, which made less resistance. The commanding officer hung out a white handkerchief as a token of submission, and the signal being understood, the firing ceased. The same took place on the left, and now an extraordinary scene followed, in the struggle and scrambling of the enemy for prisoners, who, according to the custom of the Turks, became the private property of the person who

took them, and for each of whom a ransom was expected. In this contest for prize-money, the men were pulled and hauled about with little ceremony, and were immediately marched a short distance up the river, when every Turkish soldier received payment on the spot for his prisoners, at the rate of seven dollars a head. During these transactions, a number of horsemen were galloping about, each with the head of a British soldier stuck on the point of his lance.

The treatment on the way to Cairo was such as might have been expected from such ferocious conductors, who, on the morning after the battle, exhibited in front of the place of confinement a pile of upwards of one hundred stuffed scalps, arranged in regular order. When the captives arrived at Cairo, they were paraded through the city for seven hours, exposed to all kinds of scoffs and insults of the people, who cried, "There are our English *friends*, who came from their ships to kill us and our children." This was a melancholy contrast to the esteem in which the British were held in the same country a few years preceding, and perhaps it was not without cause that the people complained of this unexpected attack and invasion of their country by those whom they had looked upon as their friends and deliverers. However, at the conclusion of this mortifying procession, the officers were conducted to the presence of the Pacha, who expressed great regret that any change of measures in England should have occasioned such an attack on their ancient allies and friends, asserted that he was himself friendly to the English, and promised them protection and good usage while under his command; a pledge which he honourably and completely redeemed.

During the proceedings at El Hamet, General Stewart, aware of the critical situation of the detachment, immediately got under arms, and marched towards Etko, on the supposition that Colonel Macleod had retreated in that direction; but seeing no appearance of the detachment, he turned towards El Hamet, where, on his arrival, nothing was seen but the wrecks of the recent disaster. No alterna-

tive now remained, but to retire to Alexandria, surrounded by the enemy, who sallied out from Rosetta when the retreat commenced. The march was over a sandy plain, affording great advantage to the enemy's cavalry, of which they boldly, but ineffectually, endeavoured to avail themselves; the 35th and 78th opening so steady a fire as to repulse them on every advance, and to keep them at such a distance, that they could make no impression, while the regiment itself suffered little or no loss. This was the last hostile attack on either side. The army remained in Alexandria till the 22d of September, when the whole embarked, (the prisoners at Cairo having been restored by capitulation,) and sailed for Sicily.

The troops were comparatively healthy while in Egypt, and the deaths few. Lieutenant Hamilton, a promising officer of the Highlanders, died of fever, and a number of the men were affected with ophthalmia. After the army returned to Sicily, the regiments were sent to different destinations; the 78th joined an expedition under Sir John Moore intended for Lisbon, but they were afterwards ordered for England, where they landed, and were quartered in Canterbury in the spring of 1808. From this place they proceeded to Little Hampton in Sussex, preparatory to the drafting of the men to reinforce the first battalion in India. *

* The men were still subject to ophthalmia, the disease sometimes breaking out, and then subsiding so suddenly, as within two days to leave no other appearance than a slight weakness in the eyes. These attacks were frequently occasioned by the north-east wind; and, being temporary, the surgeon reported those only who were actually unable to perform their duty. A circumstance occurred, however, which led to an investigation as to the cause of the frequent recurrence and disappearance of this disease. A medical inspector, going round the district to view the different hospitals, came to the barracks of the 78th one morning, after a field exercise, the wind having come round to the north-east while the men were in the field. Without reporting his arrival, he went immediately to the barracks, and was astonished to find upwards of 200 of the men labouring under an apparently virulent ophthalmia, with yellow matter discharging from their eyes,

At this time several changes took place among the field-officers of this regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Hercules Scott of the 1st battalion was removed to the 103d regiment, and was succeeded by Major John Macleod from the 56th. Major David Stewart was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and was succeeded by Major Robert Hamilton from the 79th Highlanders.

The imperfect sketch which I have thus attempted to give of the service of this battalion will convey some idea of the character of the young men who composed it. They had now been together four years, and had assumed the form and manners of experienced troops. When they embarked at Portsmouth less than three years before, they were in reality boys in their habits, as well as in their appearance. This manly character was acquired at the expence of no material loss of their original simple habits. Indeed, I may say, that there was no change of principles or of morals. Notwithstanding the buoyancy of spirits, and the happiness experienced on returning in safety to their native country, and a considerable supply of money saved during their long confinement on board ship from Egypt, not an individual came

which were at the same time in a state of high inflammation; while only three cases had been reported by the surgeon. This appeared so extraordinary, that he immediately left the barracks, and stated the circumstance to the Medical Board, who called upon the surgeon to account for his conduct. At that time I commanded the regiment; and, being partly implicated, both from my having inadvertently been the occasion of this particular access of disease, by keeping the men in the field after the wind had changed, and having also recommended to the surgeon not to return such ophthalmia cases as never kept the men from their duty, I therefore stated the case very fully to the Medical Board; adding, that, on any day when the wind was easterly, I could show half the regiment affected with an apparently virulent ophthalmia, while, in two days afterwards, if the weather was mild, and the wind south or west, all appearance of disease would have wholly disappeared.

The surgeon's conduct was approved, and directions given not to expose the men unnecessarily in the state of the weather which seemed to affect them so peculiarly.

under the notice of the commanding officer for any fault deserving of punishment. For many months the guard-house, the usual place of confinement, was empty; the only restraint required for any negligence or breach of orders, was a confinement for a day or more within the barrack-yard, while their comrades were under no restraint. The officers, who were as young and inexperienced as the soldiers, had now also acquired professional knowledge and experience, and lived together in the habits of friendship, and in the confidential intimacy of a family. The same happy cordiality extended to the men, and influenced their conduct. This was so well known at head-quarters, that, from the recollection of the feeling exhibited at Hythe in 1805, and the regret expressed by the men when the same field-officer was promoted to another regiment, he was directed to remain for a certain time in the command of men between whom and himself such sentiments existed; it being considered desirable that no separation should take place till the soldiers were reconciled to it, and the causes and circumstances explained. The officer who was appointed to the battalion was directed not to join or interfere in the command. But, to men actuated by such feelings and principles as these, it was only necessary to explain their duty, and what their King and country expected of them, as was seen in this instance. After remaining some time with the battalion, the officer in question applied for leave to join his new corps; the officer recently promoted joined, and took the command of the battalion; and the former parted with his old friends, impressed with those sentiments of regret, esteem, and attachment, which their conduct in general, and towards him in particular, called for from him.

A short time previous to this period, a detachment of 400 men embarked for India to reinforce the first battalion in Bombay. * The second battalion was ordered to the Isle of

* The personal appearance of this detachment attracted particular notice. Of the 400 men, 350 were volunteers from Perthshire, Ross-

Wight, and remained there till August 1809, when a detachment of 370 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, was incorporated with a battalion commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane, and ordered to join the expedition to Zealand, under the Earl of Chatham. At the conclusion of this service, they returned to the Isle of Wight, considerably affected by the Walcheren fever and ague. Although few died, it was not till the following year that the men recovered their usual strength and

shire, and other Scotch militia regiments; and of these 280 were six feet and upwards, with strength of limb and person equal to their height.

In consequence of a wound received at Maida, which annoyed me for many years, I was obliged to return to Scotland, and did not join my regiment again till after the expedition to Egypt in 1807; but, as the wound was in the arm, it did not disable me for travelling. I therefore employed part of the time I was absent in procuring men for the regiment; and when the act passed for allowing volunteers from the militia, I went to the quarters of several Scotch militia regiments, and got a considerable number of volunteers, particularly from my county regiment the Perthshire, then stationed in Kent.

As these volunteers were destined for India, they expressed a strong desire to return to Scotland and visit their friends once more. I therefore represented the circumstance to the Duke of York, through the Adjutant-General, when his Royal Highness, with that kind and gracious feeling he has ever shown towards soldiers, complied with their request, and all the volunteers were accordingly ordered to Perth. I mention the circumstance more particularly on account of the influence this attention to their wishes had upon the soldiers and their conduct. While their personal appearance was such as I have already described, they were equally conspicuous for regularity and every duty becoming good soldiers; and, as they often declared, they were anxious to prove, by their conduct, that they were worthy of the kindness shown them. When the orders for their removal to England, to embark for the East Indies, arrived in Perth, all to a man expressed their gratitude to the Duke of York for allowing them to see their native country and friends before their departure. Such are the happy consequences of condescending attention to the feelings of good men, and so easy a thing is it to secure the dutiful gratitude of a true soldier, who, when thus treated, will die at his post rather than fail in his duty to his King and his country.

vigour. In 1810, all who were fit for service in an eastern climate were embarked, and joined the first battalion at Goa a short time previous to the embarkation of the expedition against Batavia in 1811. This reinforcement, in addition to the fine detachment just mentioned, and which had joined some time previously, enabled the 78th to take the field under General Achmuty in as complete condition as any regiment ever seen in the East Indies; indeed, few battalions have exceeded them in appearance, character, and efficiency in any service.

The officers, non-commissioned officers, and men left behind with the second battalion were ordered to Aberdeen, where they were stationed nearly four years, employed in the necessary duty of recruiting, but with very moderate success in respect to numbers, although the recruits were of a good description, being all healthy country lads, with dispositions unadulterated, and ready to receive every good impression. They were, also, what all national corps ought to be, natives of the county whose name they bore. It was not, however, till December 1813, that they mustered 400 men, when they embarked for Holland, landed there, and joined the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

Early in January 1814, the Prussian General Bulow, intending to circumscribe the operations of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, attacked them on the morning of the 11th, and, after an obstinate resistance, drove the enemy to the neighbourhood of the Brischat, whence they retired the following day, on the farther advance of the Prussians, and took up a position close to Antwerp. During these operations, General Graham moved forward the divisions of Major-Generals Cooke and Kenneth Mackenzie, to cover the right of the Prussians, and to be ready to co-operate with and support their attack. While they were engaged on the morning of the 13th to the left of Merexem, General Mackenzie, with a detachment of the Rifle Corps, and the 78th regiment, supported by the second battalion of the 25th, and the 33d regiment, attacked this village, oc-

cupied by a considerable body of troops. The only approach was by the high road, which entered the village at the centre. On this point the enemy were drawn up in force, seemingly prepared to make a determined resistance. The Highlanders leading, advanced in column, both flanks of which were exposed to the fire of the enemy, who occupied the houses to the right and left of the entrance into the village. If the advance, in such circumstances, had been slow or hesitating, the loss must have been considerable; but "an immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th, ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, decided the contest." * The enemy were routed at all points with considerable loss, and forced to take shelter in Antwerp, while that of the Highlanders was trifling in comparison of the nature and importance of the service performed. "*No veterans ever behaved better* than those men who then met the enemy for the first time. The *discipline and intrepidity* of the Highland battalion, which had the good fortune to lead the attack into the village, reflect equal credit on the officers and the men. The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed."

Thus it will be seen, that, although the individuals were changed, there was no change of character, and that the honour and good name of their native country were nobly upheld by those boys, of whom only forty-three exceeded twenty-two years of age.

The loss was, Lieutenant William Mackenzie, Ensign James Ormsby, and 9 rank and file, killed; and Lieutenant-Colonel John Macleod, (commanding a brigade,) Lieutenants William Bath, John Chisholm, and 26 rank and file, wounded. †

* General Graham's Dispatch.

† The number of the enemy at Merexem was estimated at 3,000 men. Buonaparte, who was not prone to miscalculate against himself, acknowledged four battalions in his account of this affair. Taking the lowest calculation, a sufficient number is left to show the spirit of the young men who led this attack, which so quickly defeated the enemy with a loss of killed, wounded, taken, and drowned in the ditches in their

The battalion was not employed in the attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom on the 8th of March following. Had the result of that bold enterprise been as successful as the previous plan was admiraby conceived, and had it not been disconcerted by one of those unforeseen misfortunes which often ruin the best laid designs, and this, too, after the commander had completely accomplished his share of the duty by lodging his troops within the walls, and after they got possession of eleven of the fifteen bastions which compose the garrison, the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had resisted so many sieges, and had been the grave of so many brave soldiers, would have been a noble conclusion of the war in the north; while the battle of Toulouse, and the possession of the capital of Languedoc, had completed the career of honour and success in the south.

Hostilities were now hastening to a conclusion, and this battalion was no more employed except on garrison duties, in the course of which the men conducted themselves so as to secure the esteem of the people of Flanders, as their countrymen of the Black Watch had done seventy years before. It is interesting to observe, at such distant periods, the similarity of character on the one hand, and of feelings of respect on the other. In examining the notices of what passed in 1744 and 1745, we find that an inhabitant of Flanders was happy to have a Highlander quartered in his house, as he was not only kind and peaceable in his own demeanour, but protected his host from the depredations and rudeness of others. We find, also, that, in Germany, in 1761 and 1762, in regard to Keith's Highlanders, much was said of "the kindness of their dispositions in every thing, for the boors were much better treated by those sa-

hasty flight, exceeding 1,100 men. This proved the just estimate General Graham had formed of their character; and that his confidence in this corps of boys was not misplaced when he appointed them to attack so great and preponderating a force of an enemy, approachable only by a causeway, posted advantageously, and supported by artillery.

vages than by the polished French and English." When such accounts are read and compared with those of what passed in 1814 and 1815, in which it is stated, that "they were kind as well as brave;"—"Enfans de la famille;"—"Lions in the field, and lambs in the house;"—when these accounts of remote and recent periods are compared, they display a steadiness of principle, not proceeding from accidental occurrences, but the result of natural dispositions, originally humane and honourable.

It is only justice to mention, that it was the conduct of this battalion, for eighteen months previous to June 1815, that laid the foundation of that favourable impression in the Netherlands, * which was confirmed by the 42d, and the other Highland regiments who had arrived only just previous to the battle of Waterloo; so that little could have been known to the Flemish of what their conduct in quarters might have proved. Enough was known, however, to cause a competition among the inhabitants who should receive them into their houses.

The 78th, which was removed to Nieuport, and quartered there in the summer of 1815, had not the good fortune to be called up to the battle of Waterloo, and to have an opportunity of proving whether the spirited conduct of the battalion at Merexem proceeded from an innate principle of intrepidity, or from momentary impulse. The corps had the more cause to regret their absence on such a day, as ages to come may not afford to soldiers such another opportunity of displaying their firmness and discipline. In the unhealthy quarters of Nieuport, more men were lost by sick-

* The following testimony is from the chief magistrate of Brussels:—"As Mayor of Brussels, I have pleasure in declaring, that the Scotch Highlanders, who were garrisoned in this city during the years 1814 and 1815, called forth the attachment and esteem of all, by the mildness and suavity of their manners and excellent conduct, insomuch that a representation was made to me by the inhabitants, requesting me to endeavour to detain the 78th regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops."

ness than would probably have fallen by the enemy in the hottest of the fight of Waterloo. *

In 1816 the battalion was ordered to Scotland, and, in the course of that year, the officers were put on half-pay. All the men who had been disabled by the fevers and agues of West Flanders were discharged, while the rest were stationed in Scotland till the arrival of the first battalion from India in summer 1817.

*Return of Killed and Wounded of the Second Battalion of the 78th or Seaforth's Highland Regiment, from* 1804 *to* 1814.

| TIME AND PLACE OF ACTION. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Maida, July 4, 1806, - - | | | | | | 7 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 69 |
| Rosetta, April 1807, - - | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 7 |
| El Hamet, April 1807, - | 1 | | 3 | 4 | 2 | 61 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| Merexem, January 13, 1814, | | | 2 | | | 9 | 1 | | 2 | | | 26 |
| Total, - - | 1 | | 5 | 4 | 2 | 77 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 120 |

* Other Highland corps marched to the interior of France, after the battle of Waterloo, and formed a part of the hostile garrison that occupied Paris after its fall. As a Scots Highlander, I may perhaps be pardoned for inserting a stanza in which that circumstance is recorded. Most of my readers know the old Jacobite song called "Bannocks of Barley." The verse with which it usually concludes is as follows:

"Wha, in his wae days, were loyal to Charlie?
Wha but the lads wi' the bannocks o' barley?
Bannocks o' bear meal," &c.

In allusion to the unparalleled event which I have just mentioned, the following stanza has been added, as I understand on good authority, by Sir Walter Scott:

"Wha now keep guard at Versailles and at Marli?
Wha but the lads wi' the bannocks o' barley?
Bannocks o' bear meal," &c.

*Names of Officers Killed.*

| | |
|---|---|
| El Hamet, | Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod. |
| | Lieutenant William Mackenzie Dick. |
| | Christopher Macrae. |
| | Archibald Christie. |
| Merexem, | Lieutenant William Mackenzie. |
| | Ensign James Ormsby. |

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Maida, | Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Macleod. |
| | Major David Stewart. |
| | Captain Duncan Macpherson. |
| | Duncan Macgregor. |
| | Lieutenant James Mackay. |
| | Ensign Colin Mackenzie. |
| Rosetta, | Captain Robert Henry Dick. |
| El Hamet, | Captain Colin Campbell Mackay. |
| | Ensign Joseph Gregory. |

# GENERAL REMARKS.

## QUEEN'S HIGHLANDERS, &c.

I HAVE now completed that part of my plan which embraces a sketch of the military service of the regular corps raised since the year 1740, under the denomination of Highland. The number was 50 battalions. Of this number 34 battalions were employed on foreign service, and 33 have been introduced separately to the notice of the reader in the succession in which they were raised. *

Besides these 33 regiments, Major Colin Campbell of Kilberrie raised a Highland regiment, which was embodied at Stirling in 1761, and placed on the establishment as the 100dth regiment of the line. Immediately after inspection, the regiment was ordered for Martinique; and, having been stationed there till 1763, was ordered to Scotland, and reduced.

Colonel David Græme of Gorthy, who was appointed to attend her late Majesty Queen Charlotte to England in 1761, raised a corps of two battalions, which were embodied at Perth in 1762, under the designation of the Queen's Highlanders,

* These battalions were the Black Watch, and Loudon's Highlanders, of the War ending in 1748; Montgomery's and Fraser's, the second battalion of the 42d, Keith's, Campbell's, Johnstone's, and the 89th regiments, of the Seven Years' War; Fraser's, (two battalions,) Macleod's, (two battalions,) Argyle, Macdonald, Athole, Seaforth, Aberdeenshire, Royal Highland Emigrants, (two battalions,) and the second battalion of the 42d, of the War ending in 1783; Campbell's and Abercromby's, or 74th and 75th regiments, of 1787; Seaforth's, (three battalions,) Cameron's, Strathspey, Argyle, Gordon, second battalion of the 42d, and Sutherland, (two battalions,) of the War ending 1815.

and numbered the 105th regiment. Both battalions were ordered to Ireland, and reduced in 1763. In 1761, a corps was raised and called the Royal Highland Volunteers, and numbered the 113th regiment. Major James Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. This corps was never sent on foreign service, and was disbanded at the peace. Captain Allan Maclean of Torloisk also raised a regiment, of which he was appointed Major Commandant. This corps furnished a good supply of recruits to the Highland regiments serving in Germany and America, and was reduced in 1763.

The Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment of 1775 was not embodied in Scotland; but, consisting entirely of native Highlanders, or the sons of Highland emigrants, and having proved itself true to its King and country, it is introduced here as forming a part of the Highland military of that period.

In the year 1794, Major-General Alexander Campbell of Monzie raised a regiment under the designation of the Perthshire Highlanders, and numbered the 116th. After being a short time stationed in Ireland, the men were drafted into other regiments. Some of the officers accompanied the soldiers, while others remained on full pay, and unattached till provided for in other regiments. In 1794, also, Colonel Duncan Cameron of Callart raised a regiment, which was numbered the 132d. This corps was soon reduced, and the men and officers transferred to other regiments. In the same year, Colonel Simon Fraser (afterwards Lieutenant-General) recruited a regiment, which was placed on the establishment immediately after the 132d. The 133d was broken up in the same manner as the 132d, and the men and officers transferred. The second battalion of the 71st, 72d, 73d, 74th, 79th, 91st, and 92d regiments included in their ranks a numerous and efficient body of Highlanders; but, as the garb and designation of several were changed, and the 79th and 92d not having been on service, they are not included. The second battalion of the 91st was em-

ployed in Holland, under General Graham, in 1814, and in Flanders in 1815. The 73d served also in Flanders in 1815, commanded by the Honourable Colonel Harris; but I regret that I was precluded, by the change in their name and uniform, and the nature of my plan, from noticing the share those battalions had in the duties of that short but brilliant campaign. At Quatre Bras and Waterloo, the loss of the 73d in killed and wounded was considerable: in officers killed the regiment was nearly as unlucky as the third battalion of Royal Scots, which had 8 officers killed, and 26 wounded.

Besides the 50 Highland battalions embodied since the year 1740, there were numerous bodies of troops raised in the Highlands. Two regiments were raised in Argyleshire in 1745, under the designation of the Campbell or Argyle Highlanders. These two battalions were actively employed during the Rebellion, and were reduced at the peace. The other troops were not regimented, but acted independently, in one or more companies, under the command of the gentlemen who raised them, or served together when assembled for any general purpose. In the year 1745, there were twenty companies, of 100 men each, raised in the counties of Inverness and Ross. The following list will show the names of the officers, accompanied by a certificate from the Lord President, who was appointed to recommend proper officers, and to superintend the recruiting.

*List of Officers of Independent Companies raised in the year* 1745.

*Captains.*

George Monro, Esq.
Alexander Gun, Esq.
Patrick Grant, Esq.
George Mackay, Esq.
Peter Sutherland, Esq.
John Macleod, Esq.
Norman Macleod of Waterstein, Esq.
Norman Macleod of Bernera, Esq.
Donald Macdonald, Esq.
William Mackintosh, Esq.
Hugh Macleod, Esq.
Alexander Mackenzie, Esq.
Colin Mackenzie of Hilltown, Esq.
James Macdonald, Esq.
John Macdonald, Esq.
Hugh Mackay, Esq.
William Ross, Esq.
Colin Mackenzie, Esq.

*Lieutenants.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Adam Gordon. | Kenneth Mathison. |
| John Gordon. | George Monro. |
| William Grant. | John Mathison. |
| John Mackay. | Alexander Campbell. |
| William Mackay. | Allan Macdonald. |
| Alexander Macleod. | Allan Macdonald. |
| Donald Macleod. | John Mackay. |
| John Campbell. | Charles Ross. |
| William Macleod. | Donald Mackattlay. |

*Ensigns.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Hugh Monro. | William Baillie. |
| Kenneth Sutherland. | Rodrick Macleod. |
| James Grant. | Simon Murchison. |
| James Mackay. | John Macrae. |
| John Mackay. | James Macdonald. |
| John Macaskill. | Donald Macdonald. |
| John Macleod. | Angus Mackay. |
| John Macleod. | David Ross. |
| Donald Macleod. | Kenneth Mackenzie. |

(CERTIFICATE.)

I certify, that, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by his Majesty, Commissions were by me delivered to the officers of the Independent Companies above mentioned; and that these Commissions were not delivered until their respective companies were complete.

(Signed) DUN. FORBES.

At the same period, also, the Laird of Grant assembled 1,100 men, but only 98 joined the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Laird of Macleod was nearly as unsuccessful, as he was only followed by 200 out of 1,000 men whom he had assembled at his Castle of Dunvegan. But, in the county of Ross, Monro of Culcairn, and other gentlemen of that loyal clan, were very successful, and armed a considerable body of men. The Earl of Sutherland raised and appoint-

ed a brigade of 2,400 men at his own expence. In Perthshire, the influence of the loyal proprietors totally failed. The Duke of Atholl and the Earl of Breadalbane could not bring out a man in arms. In Argyleshire it was different; two battalions, or a brigade of 1,500 men, were raised, and were actively employed during the whole of the troubles of that unfortunate period.

In the Seven Years' War, many independent companies were raised, and a great number of men recruited by Highland officers, for which they got commissions of different ranks in the new regiments formed in the south, in which the Highland recruits were embodied. Previous to this period, large bodies of Highland youth enlisted for the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and followed the fortunes of those young gentlemen of family, and others, who could get no employment under their own government; but, in consequence of the war, the recruiting for the brigade in Holland was suspended. *

Having in the preceding sketch endeavoured to give a general view of the military service of that portion of the Highland population embodied with the regular army, I shall now give a few short notices of the Fencible Corps, raised for the internal defence of the country, with an enumeration of the whole corps of Fencible infantry, wearing the garb of the ancient Gael, commencing with the Argyle and Sutherland Fencibles of 1759, the first corps of this description raised in Scotland.

* It was remarked that Colonel Macleod of Talisker, and the gentlemen of the Isle of Skye, who joined the brigade in Holland, were particularly successful. They always found a ready supply of young soldiers.

# FENCIBLE REGIMENTS.

# FENCIBLE REGIMENTS.

## ARGYLE.

### 1759.

In 1759 the spirit of the nation, which had been roused by the danger of our colonies, and exasperated by the disasters and defeats of our fleets and armies in the years 1756, 1757, and 1758, loudly called to arm in order to retrieve the national character. The direction of the hostile operations was entrusted to an illustrious statesman, whose vigorous measures, and successful prosecution of the war, laid the best foundation for an honourable peace.

The family of Argyle, which had exhibited so many eminent examples of patriotism and loyalty, was now called upon to exert the great influence which they enjoyed in the Highlands. So soon as the system of raising Fencible corps was determined upon, (as will be mentioned in the next article,) the Duke of Argyll received letters of service for raising a regiment within the county of Argyle. As the attempt was experimental, and to be confined to the Highlands, only two, viz., the Argyle and Sutherland regiments, were raised. At that time the Duke of Argyll, as has been

already noticed, was very powerful in Scotland. Few appointments were disposed of without his recommendation or knowledge; and, consequently, his regiment, in this instance, had a priority of rank;—the commissions of the Argyle officers being dated in July, and those of Sutherland in August 1759. But this priority extended only to the date of the commissions. While the Sutherland men flocked round the standard of Morar Chattu, * much in the same manner as a Highland clan of old assembled round their chief, it was more than three months before the ranks of the Argyle regiment were completed to 1,000 men.

It has been said, that, although the gentlemen of Argyleshire have always shown a strong predilection for a military life, the common people are more inclined to the naval service. The reason assigned is the insular nature of the country, and the number of inlets of the sea, which run far up and intersect the country; thus accustoming them, from their youth, to seafaring habits. If there be any foundation for this remark in the case of the Argyleshire men, it does not extend to the northern isles of Ross-shire and Inverness-shire, nor to the mainland districts, which are in a manner inclosed by arms of the sea. No people in the north are better or more willing soldiers than those of the Isles of Skye, Lewis, &c., † or the men of Kintail, and similar districts on the mainland, which are so much indented by deep bays and salt water lakes, as to be almost surrounded by them, and to assume a peninsular form. But, whether the common people be more inclined to the sea than the land

* The name of Sutherland is unknown in the Gaelic. The Highlanders call that country Chattu, and Lord Sutherland Morar Chattu.

† In the Island of Lewis, Lord Seaforth's estate alone furnished 732 men for *one regiment alone* (Seaforth Highlanders) in the first ten years of the late war. In like manner, upwards of 900 men enlisted in the Isle of Skye and North Uist for the regiments of the line and fencibles; and more than 1,500 men entered for the regular militia, volunteers, and local militia, of the Isles of Skye and Rasay.

service, there can be only one opinion as to the military disposition of the gentlemen Argyle, and the chieftain-like and paternal support they have always received from their chief and protector. Of thirty-seven officers in the Argyle regiment, twenty-two were of the name of Campbell.

This regiment consisted of 1,000 men, and was quartered in different parts of Scotland till the peace of 1763, when it was reduced.

# SUTHERLAND.

## 1759.

While Scotland, at this period, sent forth many able and active soldiers, to fight the battles and support the honour of their country abroad, its internal defence was not neglected. County militia regiments had recently been established in England, but this measure was not extended to Scotland. National jealousies still existed, and it was imagined that the people could not yet be safely trusted with arms. A mode of embodying troops, somewhat different from the militia, was therefore had recourse to; and thus the system of Fencible regiments commenced. The officers were to be appointed, and their commissions signed, by the King, while the men were to be raised by recruiting in the common manner, and not by ballot in the particular counties, as in the case of the militia. The influence of individuals supplied the place of compulsion. Property, rank, or personal consideration and character, recommended the leaders to their followers. In the front of Scottish Chiefs and Landlords stood the late Earl of Sutherland, who, by his personal accomplishments and amiable disposition, possessed in the hearts and affections of his adherents a great and powerful influence; in addition to that which he enjoyed from hereditary succession and great property.

The reciprocal duties of protection and obedience were then acknowledged and observed, and the common interests of chieftain and clansmen had not as yet been diminished by considerations of political expediency, or private emolument. The chief was satisfied with that species of dominion, the

power of surrounding himself by a contented attached tenantry, and of influencing the mind and the will; whilst the clansmen were happy in acknowledging the kindness of their chiefs, not only by a complete devotion to their service, but by giving such value for the territorial possessions they held, and paying such rents for their lands, as enabled the noblemen and gentlemen of the Highlands to support with dignity and independence an honourable station in general society. In what manner the poor, but hardy and economical tenantry of the north enabled the great chiefs and lairds to support their independence, preserve their estates, and convey them from father to son for so many centuries, is evident from the remarkable circumstance, that, in no part of the kingdom, containing an equal number of inhabitants, have families and estates been so long preserved as in the Highlands, where, as I have already noticed, the heirs of eighteen chiefs who fought at Bannockburn, in 1314, are at this day in possession of their estates. The Chief of Sutherland had the honour of bearing a part in that great battle, which may be said to have fixed the independence of Scotland as a nation. Waterloo and Bannockburn were similar in the desperate valour displayed, and similar in their results. As the former sealed the destiny of Buonaparte, so Bannockburn destroyed the hopes of a proud invader, and established the independence of Scotland on a foundation which kept it firm, till the Union with a more powerful kingdom rendered the independence of the one inseparable from the other.

In the year 1759 the Earl of Sutherland received proposals from Mr Pitt to raise a Fencible regiment on his estate. The offer was readily accepted, and in nine days after his Lordship arrived in Sutherland with his letters of service, 1,100 men were assembled on the lawn before Dunrobin Castle. The martial appearance of those men, when they marched into Perth in May 1760, with the Earl of Sutherland at their head, was never forgotten by those who saw them, and who never failed to express admiration of their

fine military air. Some old friends of mine, who often saw these men in Perth, spoke of them with a kind of enthusiasm. Considering the abstemious habits, or rather the poverty of the Highlanders, the size and muscular strength of the people is remarkable. In this corps there was no light infantry company; upwards of 260 men being above five feet eleven inches in height, they were formed into two grenadier companies, one on each flank of the battalion.

On the peace of 1763, the regiment was marched back to Sutherland, and there reduced in the month of May, with this honourable distinction in the course of their short service, that, in a regiment of 1,050 men, no restrictions had been required, and no man had been punished; and, as they had assembled as a corps, with the primitive habits of a pastoral life, so they separated with these habits unchanged, and had the happiness of returning to their native glens without a single individual from the mountains having disgraced his corps, kindred, or district. These facts I have received from the best authority; from officers who served in the regiment, from soldiers, and from intelligent and respectable gentlemen, who saw the regiment in quarters, who were intimate with many of the officers, and who had great pleasure in talking of and describing the height, strength, and fine military appearance of these men, and their peaceable domiciliated habits in quarters.

# ARGYLE,

OR

## WESTERN FENCIBLE REGIMENT.

### 1778.

It was not till the third year of the American War, that Government ordered Fencible regiments to be raised for the internal defence of the country, and to relieve the regiments of the line from this duty, and increase the number of disposable troops for service abroad. One of the first corps of this description in the kingdom was raised, under the influence of the Duke of Argyll, in 1759; and, in 1778, the first Fencible regiment was raised by Lord Frederick Campbell, a son of that family. Archibald Earl of Eglinton, who had been so active a partisan, and had proved himself so able and high-spirited an officer when he commanded his regiment of Highlanders in America during the Seven Years' War, applied at the same time for permission to raise a regiment of Fencible Highlanders; but it was not thought expedient that two regiments of Fencibles should be raised in the West Highlands, as it might interfere too much with the recruiting for the line. It was therefore determined that only one corps should be raised in the West; and Lord Eglinton having got the appointment of the officers of two companies, Mr Montgomery of Coilsfield, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, was appointed major, and the late Earl of Glencairn captain; the other companies being filled up from Argyleshire, in which, and in other parts of the High-

lands, 700 men were recruited: the rest were from Glasgow and the south-west of Scotland. This regiment was embodied at Glasgow in April 1778. Both officers and men were animated with more than ordinary zeal and spirit, which were kept in full activity by Colonel Montgomery and Major Campbell of Melford, who commanded the regiment alternately in the absence of the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, Lord Frederick Campbell and Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, who were occasionally employed on other duties. Part of this spirit was exhibited in a voluntary offer of the corps to extend their services to any part of the world where their country required them; having thus had the honour of setting an example which has since been frequently followed by regiments whose service was limited to the immediate defence of their native country. Besides this patriotic offer, the corps exhibited another trait of character not uncommon among their countrymen, namely, so much economy in the expenditure of their daily pay of sixpence as to be able to remit considerable sums of money to their relations, and, when disembodied at Glasgow in 1783, to possess so much money, that, if the whole had been reckoned in one sum, it would have appeared very remarkable, considering the moderate means from which it had been saved.

## GORDON.

### 1778.

It will be recollected, that the Duke of Gordon had, at the age of sixteen, offered his personal services as captain in the 89th Highland regiment, and had intended to have accompanied it to the East Indies, when he was prevented by George II. He now made proposals to Government to raise a regiment of Fencibles on his estates in the counties of Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. These proposals being accepted, a regiment of 960 men was recruited with great expedition, and embodied at Aberdeen in the year 1778. This corps was so healthy and efficient, that, in five years, till the reduction in 1783, only 24 men died of the 960 of which the corps was composed.

# SUTHERLAND.

## 1779.

It has already been stated, that, twenty years before this period, the last Earl of Sutherland raised a regiment of Fencibles with unexampled ease and rapidity; unexampled except in the days of chivalrous fidelity to chiefs, whose signal, when danger was immediate, or the enemy at the door, was sufficient to rouse to arms all who could use them. As both the danger and the enemy were in this case distant, such rapid levies were unnecessary; but when nine days sufficed for assembling 1,100 men, it must be allowed that the call to arms was obeyed with sufficient promptitude and celerity.

Soon after that period the Earl of Sutherland died, lamented by all who knew him, and more especially by his own people. His only child was then an infant. To her, however, as their future protectress, they looked up for a continuation of the same patriarchal protection which they and their forefathers had experienced from her family, and they now showed that this protection had not been thrown away on ungrateful objects. Though their superior was too young to be sensible of their attachment, or capable of rewarding it, their zeal was not, on that account, the less warm: they appeared as ready to obey as when the object of their regard was present, either to approve, reward, or punish. But, as the house of Sutherland had no near relative of the name to command the followers of the family, William Wemyss of Wemyss, nephew of the late Earl, was

appointed colonel of the Fencible regiment to be raised on the estate of Sutherland.

The duty of recruiting was easily executed. In the parish of Far alone, 154 men enlisted in two days. Two companies from Caithness, commanded by William Innes of Sandside and John Sutherland of Wester, were added to the regiment, which was embodied at Fort George in February 1779.

In the following summer they were marched to the southward, and remained stationed principally in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, always distinguished for sobriety, probity, and the most scrupulous and orderly attention to their duty. "Desertions, or crimes requiring the check of courts-martial, were totally unknown in this regiment. Such was their economy, that, if any officer, in whom they had confidence, required a temporary supply of money, one thousand pounds could be raised among the men. They were always remitting money, and sending home little presents to their friends." Men of this character and disposition may be depended upon as trust-worthy in all situations; whether marching up to the cannon's mouth, or discharging the less arduous, but equally necessary, duties of private life, they will not fail to acquit themselves with honour.

Samuel Macdonald, * commonly known as Big Sam, was

* This man was a native of the parish of Lairg, in the county of Sutherland. He was seven feet four inches in height, and every way stout in proportion. His parents were of good size, but in nothing otherwise remarkable. Macdonald had fortunately a quiet, equable temper: had he been irritable, he might, from his immense strength and weight of arm, have given a serious blow, without being sensible of its force. He was considered an excellent drill, from his mild and clear manner of giving his directions. After the peace of 1783, he enlisted in the Royals. From thence he was transferred to the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793. The Countess of Sutherland, with great kindness, allowed him 2s. 6d. per diem, extra pay; judging, probably, that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford. He attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and was for some time one of the porters of Carlton House. When the 93d was raised, he

a soldier in the Sutherland Fencibles. He was too large to stand in the ranks, and generally stood on the right of the regiment when in line, and marched at the head when in column, but was always accompanied by a mountain deer of uncommon size. This animal was so attached to Macdonald, that, whether on duty with his regiment, or on the streets, the hart was at his side.

The regiment was ordered to the north, and reduced at Fort George in 1783.

could not be kept from his old friends; and, joining the regiment, he died in Jersey in 1802, regretted by his corps as a respectable, trustworthy, excellent man.

# GRANT,

## OR

# STRATHSPEY.

## 1793.

I AM perfectly aware, that an objection may be made to the opinions which I have, with too much presumption, perhaps, urged as to the value and importance of preserving undisturbed an ancient, faithful, and attached tenantry, and of that personal influence possessed by many former Highland noblemen and landed proprietors, by which they could, at any time, command the personal service in the field of their tenants and kinsmen. It has been alleged, that these services were not unbought, as the sons of tacksmen and tenants were sent by their parents to fill up the ranks of Highland regiments, on a direct or implied stipulation of abatement of rent, or some pecuniary or other advantage to be received, for the services of the youths who came forward to take up arms at the call of their chiefs and landlords. Circumstances do not confirm this view of the subject. As tenants, occupying land on feudal tenure, the Highlanders paid rents, according to the value of their land, in full proportion to the best lands in the Carse of Gowrie, the properties of Lords Gray and Kinnaird, and others, which, as is noticed in page 141, Vol. I., did not yield, seventy years ago, more than six or eight shillings the acre. Lord Kinnoul's, and that part of the Duke of Atholl's estates in the Lowlands, were still lower. The lands of Lords Gray and Kinnaird now average L. 6 Sterling per acre. Yet neither these noblemen,

nor the Duke of Atholl from his Lowland estates, ever could call on the personal service of their tenants on account of these low rents, which, indeed, if we consider the disproportion in climate and soil, were lower than those of the Highlands, where the sentiments of the landlords and their tenants, and their mutual confidence and dependence on each other, were so remarkably different. Of this difference several instances occurred in 1745. The Duke of Perth engaged in the Rebellion of that year; yet, though possessed of a valuable, extensive, and populous estate, he had not influence enough to carry along with him 150 men from the Lowland portion of his property to support the cause he warmly espoused. Lord Strathallan, who lost his title, his estate, and his life, in the same cause, did not bring as many men to the field as two young gentlemen, the one a son of the Laird of Ballechin, the other a son of the Laird of Glenlyon, whose fathers' estates were not equal to one-third of the value of his. Lord Nairne, also, whose estate lay at the foot of the Grampians, was followed by very few of his people when he joined the Prince, and entailed ruin on himself and family, without strengthening the cause to which he was so ardently devoted, by any great addition of men. So much was this the case, that, as he had few followers of his own, Lord George Murray gave to his Lordship the command of one of the Athole regiments. These facts can only admit of one interpretation, namely, that the Highland chiefs and landlords were not followed from mercenary motives, but from a feudal, hereditary, and chivalrous attachment to their persons and families. While thus, in feudal times, chiefs and landed proprietors did not suffer any material diminution of rent by the personal service of their followers, we find that, in later times, the promptitude with which the Highland tenantry engaged in the service of their country contributed to raise the celebrity of their landlords, and this without any sacrifice of rent or pecuniary loss, nothing being asked or expected by the soldiers, except a preference to their fami-

lies in retaining their farms on paying an equal rent with any that might be offered. Of this we have many instances, and particularly on Lord Breadalbane's estates, from which great numbers engaged on similar conditions; and that a preference of occupancy was the only favour expected by the soldiers, is proved by the circumstance of a considerable augmentation of rent having taken place during the time the regiments were embodied, the rents paid by the friends and families of the soldiers having been increased in the same ratio with those paid by the other tenants.

I deemed it necessary to notice briefly the foregoing facts, which clearly prove that the mind of the Highlander, who obeyed the call of his chief or landlord, and came forward in a season of difficulty or danger, was not actuated by those sordid and mercenary motives which some would ascribe to him, and that Highland proprietors did not submit to almost any loss of rents when they acquired political consideration and importance by bringing forward their brave and hardy mountaineers.

I have had frequent occasion to mention the family of Grant, and particularly the late excellent chief, Sir James Grant, to whom may justly be applied the character given an unfortunate monarch by a celebrated Judge and historian: "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian," * of the district to which he was an honour and a blessing.

This good man, and patriarchal chief, lived principally at Castle Grant, respected and beloved by all around him. Few men, therefore, could, with more confidence of success, step forward with an offer to his King of a regiment of loyal men to support the Crown, the Constitution, and the Independence of the country. The offer was early made and accepted, and two months after the declaration of war, the Grant Fencibles were assembled at Forres in the end of

* Clarendon's Charles I.

April 1793, being so complete in numbers, that seventy men were discharged as supernumeraries in May; but it was not till the 5th of June that the regiment was finally inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie.

Of the men, forty-one were from the Lowlands of Scotland, three from England, and two from Ireland. The regiment was marched to Aberdeen in August, and from thence to the south of Scotland, and stationed in Linlithgow, Glasgow, Dumfries, Musselburgh, and almost every town of any note south of the Forth.

The correctness of the observation, that a Highlander will be led, but not driven, was unfortunately verified in the case of this regiment at Linlithgow in 1794. At that time it was proposed to extend the service of the Scotch Fencible regiments, which was confined to Scotland. With this view directions were given to sound the men of the Grant Fencibles on the subject, and ascertain if they would agree to a proposal of this nature. Measures were accordingly taken, but unfortunately not with that care, precaution, and ample explanation, so necessary when men's feelings and prejudices are to be consulted, and any previous agreement or understanding to be altered or renewed on another and different basis. In this case, when the commanding officer issued the orders on the subject, some officers thought it unnecessary to offer any explanation to their men; others entirely mistook the meaning and import of the proposals. The consequence was a degree of jealousy and distrust; and, as busy and meddling advisers are not wanting on such occasions, the soldiers became alarmed; they knew not what to believe, or what was intended; and even the explanations of those officers who understood the nature of the proposed measure lost much of their effect. The result of the whole was a division and difference of opinion among the men; some were for volunteering, others opposed it; the proposal was therefore abandoned, and no volunteering took place. But it was not the mere volunteering, and the consequent loss of more general and ex-

tended duty that was so much to be regretted, as the want of confidence which this misunderstanding caused, and the effect it had on the conduct of the men for a considerable time afterwards. And here was exemplified another of the marked characteristics of the Highlander which I have had frequent occasion to notice. Reposing a confidence almost unlimited in those whom he regards with respect, if that confidence be not reciprocal, and if he discover any approximation to disingenuousness, no man is more suspicious. However, this unpleasant and unexpected circumstance passed away, and by the presence of Sir James Grant, who hurried up to join his regiment when he heard of the affair, it was in some measure forgotten, and confidence re-established. But when quartered in Dumfries in 1795, it was unfortunately again broken, and unpleasant feelings renewed, by a cause somewhat peculiar to this singular race of people; or which, if not peculiar, has always had a powerful influence on their character and habits.

I fear it will be thought that I recur too frequently to the more marked traits of character peculiar to this people, but without a knowledge of those peculiarities which I have attempted to bring under the view of the reader, in the introductory sketch of character, &c. the motives which guided many of their actions could not be generally known. And farther, not to explain it would be unjust towards officers whose conduct, discipline, and treatment of the soldiers would, in many cases, be quite proper. In instances where the usual discipline of the army was applied to the Highland soldier, the officers acted agreeably to the usual instructions in so doing, and particularly those officers who were ignorant of their language and dispositions. And when they have been blamed for an apparent harshness, which occasioned much irritation, their conduct, in general, proceeded more from ignorance than from unnecessary severity. Soldiers are often like children, and require to be treated as such. The wholesome and severe coercion which is highly necessary for some children would destroy others. Thus it is with soldiers. The beat,

ing with canes, and the blows so liberally applied by their officers, to correct the Austrian, French, and other continental soldiers, would totally ruin a British soldier, and either render him desperate, or so break his spirit that he would never face his enemy. In the same manner, the corporal punishments which are indispensable in restraining the unprincipled and shamelessly depraved, who sometimes stand in the ranks of the British army, would have struck a Highland soldier of the old school with a horror that would have rendered him despicable in his own eyes, and a disgrace to his family and name. The want of a due regard to, and discrimination of, men's dispositions, has often led to very serious consequences.

I know not how this matter stood in the Strathspey Fencibles, whether any unnecessary severity had been exercised, whether the men believed that they were teased with long drills and fatiguing discipline, not required for soldiers who were never to meet an enemy, or to go beyond the boundary of their native country, whether the individuals themselves were of a character different from, and inferior to, that of many others whom I have had occasion to mention; or whether, as is most probable, some unpleasant recollections of the affair at Linlithgow still existed:—Be these things as they may, at Dumfries a circumstance, very trifling in itself, originating in a remark by a soldier in the ranks, which might pass for a joke, or a piece of wit, according as the thing was taken, led to a series of misunderstandings, of violence on the part of the soldiers, and of threats and punishments on the part of the officers, which ended in the trial, condemnation, and execution of several of the men.*

On the first appearance of this improper spirit among the soldiers, Sir James Grant was sent for, but unfortunately he arrived too late; such acts of turbulence, and disobedience of orders had taken place, that an example was considered

* See a few particulars of this affair in the article on the Mutinies of the Highland Regiments.

necessary. The regiment was marched to Musselburgh, where Corporal James Macdonald, and privates Alexander Fraser, Charles Mackintosh, Duncan Macdougall, and A. Mackintosh, were tried and found guilty of mutinous conduct. The corporal was sentenced to a corporal punishment, and the four soldiers to be shot. The corporal was pardoned. On the 16th of July 1795, the Scotch Brigade, (afterwards the 94th regiment,) and the Sutherland, Breadalbane, and Grant Fencibles, were ordered to assemble on Gullane Links, in East Lothian, to witness the execution of the four soldiers. When they arrived on the ground, they were told that only two were to suffer, and that two were to draw lots: (Alexander Fraser, who was the most violent, was not permitted to draw.) That for execution fell on Charles Mackintosh, who with Fraser suffered accordingly. The other two prisoners were ordered to join regiments abroad. After this unfortunate affair, which cast such a slur on the character of a body of men who, in every other respect, conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, the regiment was quartered in Dundee, Ayr, Musselburgh, &c. The soldiers were afterwards quiet, orderly, and attentive to all duties. In spring 1799, it was resolved to discharge all Fencible regiments whose service did not extend beyond Scotland, and in consequence the Grant, Gordon, Breadalbane, (two battalions,) Sutherland, Rothsay and Caithness, (1st battalion,) Argyle, and Hopetoun regiments, were disbanded.

# BREADALBANE.

## THREE BATTALIONS.

## 1793 and 1794.

"He who gave glory to his country," said an illustrious statesman, "gave that which was far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever. Glory alone was not to be taken away by time or accidents. Ships, territories, or colonies, might be taken from a country, but the mode of acquiring them could never be forgotten. The acquisitions that were the consequence of the glorious days of Cressy and Poictiers had long since passed to other hands, but the glory of these illustrious achievements still adhered to the British name, and was immortal." *

Such being the imperishable attributes of military glory, those men may well be styled patriots, who essentially contributed to its attainment, if not by their personal services in the field, at least by the proper application of that influence which their rank, property, and general estimation in society ensure to them. In this high station stood several Highland noblemen and gentlemen, who, with much barren land and moderate revenues, but with great personal and family influence, could, on any emergency, step forward at the head of a body of brave and hardy men, to assert and support their country's claim to the glorious distinction so

* Mr Wyndham's Speech on the vote of thanks for the battle of Maida.

eloquently described by the enlightened statesman whose opinions have been just quoted.

Among Highland proprietors the Earl of Breadalbane holds a pre-eminent rank. Possessing an estate superior in extent to many Continental principalities, * and but little inferior to some of them in the number of its people, he made an early offer of his services to raise two Fencible regiments, which were rapidly completed in the summer of 1793. In a few months afterwards, a third battalion was embodied; the whole force amounting to 2,300 men, of whom 1,600 were from the estate of Breadalbane. Thus, while Lord Breadalbane managed his great estate so as to preserve many able men in those pastoral and agricultural occupations which generally ensure virtuous contentment and happiness; they, in gratitude for such patriarchal kindness, and in the hope that the same fatherly protection would be continued, came forward, at the call of their Chief, in the numbers just mentioned. And certainly the man who can command the services of such a body contributes in no small degree to lay the foundation of that "glory to his country which is far more valuable to it than any acquisition whatever;" for, without good and brave men to fight our battles, we should soon have neither country, independence, nor glory. And next to the commander, whose talents and courage lead the soldiers of his country to victory, is the person who, by a humane and judicious management of a numerous body of people placed by Providence under his charge and control, promotes those habits, and that prosperity and independence, which

* Lord Breadalbane's estate, which supports a population of 13,537 persons, commences two miles east of Tay Bridge, in the county of Perth, and extends westward ninety-nine and a half miles to Easdale, in Argyleshire, varying in breadth from three to twelve and fifteen miles, and interrupted only by the property of three or four proprietors, who possess one side of a valley, or glen, while Lord Breadalbane has the other, so that, varying his direction a little to the right or left, he can travel nearly one hundred miles from east to west on his own property.

are necessary to form virtuous men and good soldiers. Such was Lord Breadalbane when he presented his King and country with 1,600 able men; nor is it to be doubted that he will continue the same course, and preserve an independent, virtuous, and high-spirited peasantry, and not, like more northerly proprietors, forget the claims of an ancient and valuable race, banish them from their native land, or reduce those who are permitted to remain to the situation of day-labourers; * a situation not well calculated to foster that independence of spirit which lays the foundation of the "glory of those illustrious achievements which adhere to the British name, and are immortal."

Some persons, probably from a wish to depreciate the character of the Highlanders, in extenuation of their own conduct towards them, have observed, as I have more particularly noticed in the last article, that there is much of self-interest in those voluntary, or rather, as they call them, involuntary, services; as the men expect some reward in the shape of small settlements for themselves when disabled or discharged, or some favour in behalf of their aged parents in their absence. All this may be very true; for we are not to suppose that the Highlander is careless of his own interest, or that he willingly undervalues any services he may perform. When a man confers a favour, it is quite natural that he should expect some return from a person who has ample power to repay him; and when a young Highlander makes a voluntary surrender of his personal services to his landlord, it is rather too great a refinement on generosity to accuse him of selfish motives, because he may expect a small spot of that land, of which the other has so much to spare, as a future settlement for himself if he lives to return home, or for his aged parents when deprived of his support. Nor will this expectation be deemed unreasonable when the boon amounts to no more than a simple preference of occupancy, the tenant who had served his country paying as good rents as

* See Note N. in the Appendix.

the land is worth;—in short, the preference being only on the condition of paying equal rent with a stranger. These stipulations, accompanied by a small bounty of twenty shillings, surely cannot be held to indicate a greater degree of self-interest than is reasonable in a people who are believed to be nowise indifferent to their own welfare, or deficient in parental or filial affection.

But in whatever light we may view these conditions, sanctioned merely by the word of the Chieftain, which was sufficient, without any written contract, they were effective; for, in a few days, and indeed as quickly as the oaths could be administered by several neighbouring gentlemen who attended as justices of the peace, 500 men were attested at Taymouth Castle, the rest quickly following. They were then removed to Perth, where they were joined by those raised there and in different parts of the country; and the whole were embodied, and formed into two battalions, called the 1st and 2d Breadalbane Fencible Highlanders.

Seeing with what facility these battalions were raised, it was a matter of subsequent regret that their terms of service were limited to Scotland. Five years afterwards, (in 1798,) when political affairs offered no prospect of a speedy termination of hostilities, and when the inefficiency of the Scotch Fencibles, from their confined sphere of service, was perceived, they were disbanded. In this reduction the first and second battalions of Breadalbane were included. The third battalion was retained, as the service had, from its origin in 1794, been extended to Ireland.

This battalion was accordingly removed to Ireland in 1795, and was stationed in different parts of that country till 1802, when it was reduced. In support of the opinion which I have, with perhaps too much presumption, offered on the superior value and virtue of an agricultural population, and in justification of the feelings with which I have viewed the proceedings of those who have depopulated so many Highland valleys, I state the following fact, which

is well worthy the notice of the nobleman whose estates produced so great a proportion of these three corps, and equally deserving the attention of Government. The fact to which I allude is, that, in the five years during which those corps were embodied, only five men of those recruited in the Highlands were subjected to punishment. The unfortunate misunderstanding which occurred in Glasgow* was of a different cast, and would probably not have happened, had the character of the men been properly appreciated, and their dispositions studied; for that severity of punishment which is necessary, and without which it would be impossible to curb and preserve in due discipline certain descriptions of men, would totally destroy others, and produce the very crimes which it was intended to prevent. It will be seen in another article that the attempt to enforce this power, which every commander of a corps ought to have, (though it should be used with great discretion, and not without extreme necessity,) was attended with the worst effects; for the horror excited by this sort of punishment in the minds of men who viewed it, as all such punishments ought to be viewed, namely, as a misfortune and disgrace, occasioned in the Breadalbane Fencibles an open violation of all order and military discipline. The conduct of the men on this occasion, after the first burst of indignation and horror had subsided, and after they had become sensible of the breach of duty which they had committed, was manifested in the voluntary surrender of a few, who offered themselves for punishment as an atonement for their comrades. This was a conclusive proof of the principles on which they acted, especially as contrition for a crime is often admitted as a proper satisfaction, more particularly when originating in honourable, though mistaken motives. Military discipline would not probably have suffered had these men been pardoned. Officers who have violated the laws by killing an antagonist in a duel, are allowed the

* See article on the Mutinies of the Highland Regiments.

plea of honour as a sufficient defence; therefore, when soldiers act from a principle of honour, why should not the same excuse be extended to them? By thus admitting them within the pale of honour, would not an additional security for their future conduct be obtained? Might not the generous self-devotion of the soldier Macmartin, to save from censure his officer and friend, who had conceded so much to his solicitation, have been accepted as a sufficient expiation for the crimes of the whole, including Sutherland, the soldier who was shot?

# SUTHERLAND.

## 1793.

I HAVE already stated the zeal and spirit with which the youth of this distant country engaged in his Majesty's service in the years 1759 and 1779. On the occasion in question there was no deficiency of spirit, and when it was known in Sutherland that their Countess was expected to call forth a portion of the most able-bodied men on her extensive estates, the officers whom she appointed had only to make a selection of those who were best calculated to fill up the ranks of the regiment, which was completed in as short a time as the men could be collected from the rugged and distant districts they inhabited. *

The regiment was embodied at Fort George, and, including a company from Ross-shire, commanded by Mr Macleod of Cadboll, amounted to 1,084 men, with drummers and pipers. Colonel Wemyss of Wemyss, who commanded the Sutherland regiment of 1779, was appointed Colonel, and the Honourable James Stuart Lieutenant-Colonel.

This regiment was fortunate in having a Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel who understood the character of the men, and the discipline which suited them. The Adjutant did not, in the first instance, attend to this, and, resorting

* An instance of this selection of men was seen in Perth when the regiment was stationed there some time after it was established. So numerous a band of fine young men came up from Sutherland, that all could not be received, as the regiment did not require so many recruits. They were consequently obliged to return home. However, several enlisted into other regiments.

to a system of coercion which experience proved to be unnecessary, the same horror at the thoughts of disgraceful punishments, and the same symptoms of resistance, occurred as had been exhibited in other Highland corps in similar circumstances; but the judicious interference of the commanding officer checked the proceedings of the Adjutant, and this threatening storm instantly subsided. With the exception of the men put into confinement on this occasion, and of that of a serjeant and two men for the escape of a deserter whom they were escorting, this respectable body of men saw five years pass without an individual offending in a manner that could be called crime.

In 1797 the regiment extended their services to Ireland. In that country, except some rapid marches, and one skirmish with the rebels, they had little opportunity of proving themselves in the field; but it was said of them, that "their conduct and manners softened the horrors of war, and they were not a week in a fresh quarter, or cantonment, that they did not conciliate and become intimate with the people."

Immediately after the conclusion of the disturbances, the regiment was ordered from Ireland, marched to Fort George, and there reduced. Considering the great demand for men at that period, and the character the corps had sustained, it was a matter of subsequent regret that no attempt had been made to encourage them to re-engage on a more enlarged scale of service. There is every reason to believe that almost all of them would have re-enlisted. Two-thirds of the men returned to their native country. This oversight, however, was in some measure remedied, and their service again called for. In what manner they answered this call will be seen by the service of the 93d regiment.

## GORDON.

### 1793.

In the course of a long life, the Duke of Gordon has seen his country engaged in three successive wars, for the prosecution of which he, by his territorial and personal influence, contributed to raise four regiments, composed of men well qualified for such a purpose. The 89th and 92d regiments have proved this in their service both abroad and at home. The Gordon Fencibles of 1779, although confined to a more limited sphere of service, was composed of equally good materials. The Fencible regiment of 1793 was the same. It was quickly raised and embodied at Aberdeen. The Duke of Gordon's commission as Colonel was dated the 3d of March. The uniform was the full Highland garb. Upwards of 300 men were raised on the Gordon estates in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber. An equal number was recruited from gentlemen's estates in the neighbourhood, and about 150 from the Lowlands of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin; all of them men of good character, and though not in general tall, yet stout and well made. The service of the regiment was confined to Scotland, but the men having volunteered to extend it, the offer was accepted, and accordingly, in 1794, they were removed to England. When quartered in Kent, the King, who had never seen a Highland regiment, ordered the Gordon Fencibles up to London, where they were reviewed in Hyde Park in the presence of his Majesty, who expressed himself highly satisfied with their appearance. As this was the first Highland regiment reviewed near London, with the

exception of the review of the Black Watch on Finchley Common in 1743, the novelty of the sight attracted a great crowd of people from all parts of the town and neighbourhood.

The Gordon Fencibles remained in England till ordered to Scotland in 1798, where they were reduced with the other Fencible corps.

## ROTHSAY AND CAITHNESS.

### 1794.

ALTHOUGH the county of Caithness is within the Highland boundary, yet, in its natural appearance, being in general low, and destitute of mountains, it has more of a Lowland than a Highland character; and, as if the Highland garb were to be worn, and the Gaelic language to be spoken only by mountaineers, there has always been more of the Lowland costume, and of the Saxon or Scotch language, in that than in any other Highland county. It is rather remarkable that, apparently for the same reason, the Highland dress has always been little worn (even when it was not illegal) in the low and flat peninsula of Kintyre, in Argyleshire.

But, though Caithness differed so much in dress and language from more mountainous districts, there was little or none in the general principles which guided the Highlanders; and as fidelity and attachment to their chiefs and lairds were preserved, it was to be expected, that, when the country had occasion for the services of the men of Caithness, they would be found ready: and, having a chieftain so patriotic as Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, the head of an ancient and respectable family, to lead them, there could be little difficulty in raising a sufficient number of men to constitute a regiment. Nor was there any, as was shown in the year 1794, when Sir John Sinclair received letters of service to raise a regiment of Fencible Highlanders, whose duty should extend to England. As both officers and men were principally natives of Caithness, no name could be more appropriate than the "Caithness Fencibles." But

the counties of Bute and Caithness being united in sending alternately a Member to represent them in Parliament, and the Prince of Wales having been pleased to grant permission that Rothsay, his chief title in Scotland, should be added, the battalion was called the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles.

Though this regiment was not completed with the same expedition that the ranks of the Breadalbane, Sutherland, and other regiments had been filled up, an excellent efficient battalion was assembled at Inverness in October 1794, and embodied by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. Among the circumstances connected with this corps, which attracted notice, was the appearance of the officers, nineteen of whom averaged six feet in height.

The uniform of this regiment was different from that worn by other Highland corps. It was a bonnet and feathers, with a plaid thrown across the shoulders, and tartan pantaloons, in imitation of the truis, * (which is said by some to be the

* The following anecdote tends to show that the truis or breeches were worn in Caithness in the reign of Charles II. at a time when the kilt and plaid were the universal garb of the rest of the Highlands; consequently, there is the greater reason for the Caithness regiment having assumed the truis for their uniform.

About the period of the Restoration, the Earl of Caithness had been reduced to great straits and pecuniary difficulties. His debts were so heavy, that he was obliged to execute a disposition of his estate in favour of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, who purchased the greatest part of his debts, and thus became the principal creditor; and, in consequence of the disposition, a charter was passed in 1673 investing Glenorchy with the estate of Caithness. The Earl died in 1676, and in 1678 his widow, a daughter of the Marquis of Argyll, married Sir John Campbell, who took possession of the estate, and assumed the title of Earl of Caithness, as being territorial, and attached to, and unalienable from, the possession of the land. He accordingly got a patent of the earldom from the Crown, and was created Earl of Caithness. This, however, was an assumption of right to which the Sinclairs would not submit, and, in the true spirit of clansmen, determined to support the distressed, to preserve the sinking family of their Chief, and to assert the claims of his legitimate heir. These were not mere words; and the arm of the law being neither so long nor so

garb of the ancient Gael and Celts,) surmounted with a stripe of yellow along the seams, a fringe of tartan on the outside of the thigh, and the same round the ankle.

strong in those days as in later times, (when, according to the old Highlanders, it had reached Ross-shire,) the new Earl of Caithness was obliged to take to the sword to gain possession of his acquisitions; and, instead of repairing to Edinburgh to employ lawyers, (mercenary and hired troops, as they, no doubt, would be called by our modern revolutionists,) to fight for and maintain his claims, he followed the Highland fashion, and, collecting 1,100 Breadalbane men, including the followers of the immediate descendants of his family, Glenlyon, Glenfalloch, Lochdochart, Achallader, &c., and those of his neighbour and brother-in-law, the Laird of Macnab, marched with this array to Caithness, and, in a pitched battle with the Sinclairs, (who rose to oppose him,) fought for his title, and, having gained the victory, quartered his men in the country for three years, levying rents and taxes, as if in a conquered country. But though the Sinclairs were forced to yield in the first instance, they so harassed the invaders, and showed such hostility and determined resolution to oppose the claims of Glenorchy, that he at last yielded; and, after a long negotiation, and on a reference to the King in Council, by whom it was found that the title was unalienable from the male-heirs, the Sinclairs got possession of their Chief's estate. The King created Sir John Campbell Earl of Breadalbane on a new patent, and the ancient earldom of Caithness went to the legitimate heir, George Sinclair of Keiss.

I have now come to the reason for telling this long story, namely, to show that in the reign of Charles II. breeches were worn in Caithness.—In the heat of the battle, and when the Caithness men were beginning to give way, Glenorchy's piper struck up a voluntary, the inspiration of the moment, when the sounds of the instrument seemed to express in a very remarkable manner the words, "bodach na brigan," &c.;* "the breeches men are retreating—the men with the breeches are flying." The tune has ever since been called Lord Breadalbane's March to Battle, and, when well played, appears, to a person conversant with the Gaelic language and pipe music, to articulate the words just mentioned. There is another reason for believing that the Saxon, the breeches, and the truis,

* Although Bodach literally means an Old Man, it conveys to a Highlander a great deal more. It is quite an untranslatable word. A Lowland vulgar clown, comes nearest to the Highlanders' meaning of the word. When the Breadalbane men saw men with breeches, they were in their eyes Lowlanders or Goths—Bodach Gauld—the Goth or Stranger. Bodach is a term expressive of great contempt.

This battalion was in the usual manner stationed in different quarters, and reduced in the year 1799.

In the year 1795 Sir John Sinclair again received letters of service for raising a second battalion of Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles, which was inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Hamilton at Forfar in May. The establishment was the same as that of the first battalion, but the service was extended to Ireland. In this battalion there were only about 350 men from Caithness and Sutherland; and, consequently, a greater proportion from the southern counties than in the other battalion. The uniform of both was the same. Immediately after the inspection they were marched to the south of Scotland, and from thence crossed over to Ireland, where the regiment did duty in camp and barracks throughout all the troubles; and in the year 1799, Sir John Sinclair obtained a warrant to augment the regiment to 1,000 effective men, under the designation of Caithness Highlanders, with field officers, captains, and subalterns in proportion. Captain Benjamin Williamson was appointed second Lieutenant-Colonel.

Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson was ordered to Scotland to conduct the recruiting of this new force, and, in the month of December 1799, he joined the regiment in the county of Cork, with 526 recruits. They had been previously inspected in Dublin by Major-General Sir James Henry Craig, and, having received marked approbation from that strict disciplinarian, and accurate judge of the physical capability necessary for a soldier, it may be believed that these recruits formed very good subjects for the necessary duties of the profession.

have long been the language and dress of Caithness. The Highlanders call the country Gaullu,—the country of the strangers, or of the Saxons or Goths. Lord Caithness is called Morar Gaullu—Caithness being a word unknown in the Gaelic. Morar is the Gaelic for Lord; but Morar, or Lord, is not, as in English, applied to express God Almighty: the Great Lord of All is Teorn.

I have had frequent occasion to mention, that want of space, and the nature of my plan, oblige me to suppress many circumstances and anecdotes which tend to illustrate character, and show the spirit, turn of mind, and principles of action of the people of the north, both in their military and civil capacity. I am, therefore, in each article, under the necessity of confining myself to one or two instances out of a very great number which various circumstances enable me to give. In the present case, I take the following extract from an address presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser of Culduthill, commanding the regiment, by a meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh, in the year 1798, the Lord Viscount Gosford the Governor in the Chair: "We beg leave to testify our highest approbation of the conduct of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles during a period of fourteen months, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers, and the manly rectitude of their national character. It is with pleasure and satisfaction we declare, that the tranquillity which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy must, in many respects, be ascribed to the ready obedience and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command.

"For reasons thus honourable to them, and grateful to ourselves, we return you our most sincere thanks, and request you will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, this testimony of our esteem and acknowledgment of their exemplary conduct."

The regiment continued to maintain the character and conduct which called forth this tribute of approbation; and although, "from the nature of the service, and state of the country, they were much detached, often removed from the control of their officers, and thus left in a manner to themselves, yet there was no difference, nothing

that could be called a crime ever occurred." This was the opinion (founded on a knowledge of facts) of a respectable officer who commanded the corps for several years. The soldiers were fortunate in being placed under the charge of Colonel Williamson, whose judgment and knowledge of the habits and dispositions of his men, enabled him to make the necessary distinction between unintentional or slight breaches of discipline, and those proceeding from depraved habits, or hardened guilt. Of the latter, indeed, he had none, consequently courts-martial were not frequent, and punishment slight. For neglects, trifling offences, &c. he generally called on the soldiers of their respective companies to bring the offenders to account; to award some slight punishment, and to keep a sharp eye over them afterwards. This mode has prevailed in many Highland regiments, and with the happiest effects, but no small caution is required in the selection of proper men for this moral superintendence. They must be correct in their own conduct, for punishments or advice from men who require both themselves, and show an example of the very conduct they reprobate, cannot be expected to be received even with common patience, far less with respect, and a resolution to benefit by them. Precaution is also required in another point of view, namely, in what manner the men exercise their authority, and that they do not punish too severely, to which, remarkable as the circumstance may appear, they often show no small propensity.

This regiment enjoyed a remarkably good state of health. During seven years, part of which time they were 900 and 1,000 strong, the number of deaths were only 2 officers and 37 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, not being three-fourths of a man out of every hundred in each year.

In 1797, the regiment, with the exception of about 50 men, (all the 50 were from the North,) volunteered their services to any part of Europe. The offer being accepted, it entitled the soldiers to pensions when disabled, in the same manner as if in regiments of the line. Neither at that period, nor for many years afterwards, were there any pen-

sions to officers, however severe their wounds, or however much disabled.

In the summer of 1800, Government directed that a proportion of men from the Scotch Fencible regiments should be allowed to volunteer into regiments of the line, an ensign to be appointed to every fifty men who volunteered. In consequence of this order, the 79th and 92d regiments got 200 men and 4 officers from the Caithness Highlanders.

In 1802, the regiment returned to Scotland, and was reduced in that year.

# DUMBARTON.

## 1794.

In pursuance of the resolution to raise Fencible corps, whose service was to extend over the whole of the British Isles, Colonel Campbell of Stonefield received permission to raise a regiment, of which he was to be appointed colonel, and to be called the Dumbarton Fencibles. The orders were dated the 11th of October 1794, and in summer 1795 the regiment was inspected by Major-General Sir James Stewart, and reported complete.

The regiment was immediately removed to Guernsey; and, in 1796, the establishment was reduced to 500 men, and orders were issued to discharge all above that number. In consequence of this measure the regiment was benefited by the dismissal of some indifferent characters recruited in Glasgow and other adjacent towns; so that, although reduced in numbers, it lost nothing in character. It was now an efficient body of men, and in 1797 was removed to Ireland. At this period Lieutenant-Colonel Maclaine of Lochbuy was removed to the Argyle Fencibles, and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, an officer of much experience, succeeded him.

During the Irish Rebellion, this corps was actively occupied; and, after this unpleasant service, was employed as a light infantry corps in the mountains, under Sir John Moore, who kept it constantly near his person. It was a gratifying compliment to a young corps to be thus noticed by so correct a judge of military merit, under whom they might expect to be kept in constant activity while action was

necessary, and their military experience and habits improved both by precept and example. By the recommendation of General Moore, a detachment of the regiment was ordered as a guard to 400 rebel prisoners sent to Prussia, with directions that "the detachment should consist entirely of Highlanders, as the service required confidential, trust-worthy men." After the party had performed this duty, and delivered their prisoners, instead of being landed at Leith, as originally directed, they were sent to Deal, on their return from the Continent, and disembarked in Kent, without either money or necessaries. In this state they marched to Holyhead, and crossed over to Ireland, the officer commanding drawing subsistence at the different military stations as he marched along. He joined his regiment with his party complete, and without a complaint against any individual during this long march.

The regiment remained in Ireland till 1802, when they crossed over to Scotland, and were reduced. In testimony of the character of this regiment, I give the opinion of a respectable officer, and good judge. "In my long service, I knew not more sober trust-worthy soldiers than those of the Dumbarton regiment, and if at any time any unpleasant circumstance occurred, the men enlisted in the country were exempted."

Thus every concurring testimony, the experience of every officer of observation, and the unerring evidence of time, and of innumerable examples in our army, tend to prove that it is to the agricultural population we must look for the best soldiers, and best defenders of the country. They will not only fight with courage in the field, but will raise and preserve the national character by their conduct in quarters, and in no small degree contribute to the safety of the state; for no state is more safe or free from foreign invasion, or in less danger of attack, than when rival or neighbouring nations look on her soldiers with a respect not unmixed with fear. Encroachments and all causes of offence will be avoided and guarded against; and our garrisons may

be less numerous, and less expensive, and our military establishments reduced. Such could not be the case, if our troops were of dissolute habits, and of courage as unsteady as their principles. Thus, by employing a proper description of men, the character of the nation is maintained with honour, its defence is supported at less expence, and a smaller number of men will be drawn from the productive labour of the country. It has often happened that our colonial conquests have been retaken, owing to the sickness, mortality, and disorganized discipline of those left to defend them, originating in a great measure from intemperance and immoral habits. The cheapness of spirituous liquors in the colonies admitting of an intemperate use of them, dissipation has frequently occasioned mortal diseases, aggravated by the deleterious nature of the spirits, (being generally hot, fiery, and fresh from the still, as these are the cheapest and readiest to be obtained,) to such an extent as not only to weaken the garrison by sickness and death, but to inspire with hope an enemy incapable of resisting our attacks while temperance and discipline were preserved. After the conquest of Guadaloupe in 1794, General Thomas Dundas was left in the command of the island. His talents, zeal, and animated example, preserved order and discipline in his garrison; but when he died, disorganization followed, and the inhabitants who had been friendly, and invited Sir Charles Grey to make a descent on the island, were now irritated by the conduct of the troops. They rose, and with the assistance of Victor Hugues, and a small body of men arrived from France, attacked and defeated the troops in detail, and retook the colony.* Unfortunately, such instances are not singular.

* The enemy were fully sensible of the talents of General Dundas, of which they saw proof in the spirit with which he made his attacks when the island was taken; but, instead of respecting, like a generous liberal enemy, the memory of a gallant soldier, they showed so different a feeling, that, with the revengeful and savage ferocity of the revolutionary and republican school, they disinterred his body when they got possession of the island, and, after burning it publicly, scattered the

To such an excess was drunkenness carried in the garrison of Gibraltar, before the government of the Duke of Kent, (by whose exertions that vice was greatly checked,) that it greatly diminished, if not destroyed, the high respect the Spaniards formerly entertained for the British troops; and it was not till after the experience of more than one campaign under the Duke of Wellington, that the conduct of the army restored the confidence of that jealous nation. That the character of British troops should be lowered in the esteem of the world by the prevalence of a vice which may be said to be the root and principal cause of immorality, crime, and unmilitary conduct, whenever such has happened in our army, is a subject of deep importance, and greatly to be deplored. When temperance prevails among the troops, the men are orderly, quiet, and exemplary; crimes, misdemeanours, and unmilitary conduct, rarely occur; and, as the vice generally originates, and is encouraged by a comparatively small proportion, it is certainly an object of vital importance to prevent as much as possible the introduction into our military ranks of such men as not only vitiate the principles, but by their example promote such habits as destroy the health and constitution of our troops.

ashes in the air; thus paying a greater compliment to this brave man, whom the grave could not shelter from their revenge, than if they had raised a monument of brass to this chivalrous soldier, who "was wise, yet unassuming,—brave, mild, and generous."*

When Guadaloupe was taken by General Beckwith and Admiral Cochrane in 1810, I commanded a brigade of light infantry, and being anxious to show a mark of respect to an officer whom military men might take as their model, I proposed a subscription among the officers, who united in similar sentiments, to erect a monument to his memory. A sufficient sum was quickly obtained, the General and Admiral warmly joining in this tribute, and an elegant marble monument, executed by an eminent artist in London, was sent out; but as the cession of Guadaloupe at the peace was contemplated, the monument was put up in Trinidad, a colony permanently established as a part of the British dominions.

* Mr Secretary Dundas's Speech, 5th June 1795, on a motion to erect a monument to General Dundas in St Paul's.

On a reference to the conduct and habits of the Highland regiments included in the preceding notices of military service, it will be found, that, without an exception, their original habits were so temperate, and free from any tendency to excess in the use of liquor, or otherwise, as to attract general observation; that this sobriety withstood many years of example and temptation; that many corps whose career of service was short, never changed to the last; and that others preserved the same line of conduct till the introduction of men of different characters, the force of example, and the influence of climate, caused a relaxation. It was not till after many years' service in India that climate so changed the habits of the 78th regiment, that directions to drink their own allowance of spirits, and not to dispose of it to other soldiers as an additional means of intoxication, was no longer necessary. The same moderation in the use of liquor prevailed in the 42d during the American War, when their allowance was served out twice a-week, whereas to the other troops it was done daily, with an officer present to direct the proper delivery and proper use of it; and it was not till the recruits from Chatham, and the draft from the 21st and 26th regiments were received, that any change took place. Therefore, as there can be but one opinion as to the propriety of preserving temperance among our troops, it is certainly of high importance that so desirable an object should be accomplished. In the Highlands many of the people are deplorably vitiated by smuggling, and the operations of the Excise laws, with their train of false swearing, hatred, jealousy, and revenge against informers; by fraudulent habits, bad payments, lying and deception, forced upon them, as they say, by the demands of landlords, and the new customs and manners now getting into fashion. Yet, notwithstanding these appalling appearances, and the approach of a new order of things, (the encouraging and reviving prospect of Highland civilization, as the changes are termed by some reporters of the state of religion and agricultural improvements in the north,) the evil may be checked, and pure religion, morality, and

fair dealing between man and man, may yet be preserved, if a warning be taken from the fearful state of Ireland, where, as in the Highlands, politics form no part of the complaints of the people. The example of the peasantry of Ireland shows, in too strong colours, that no increase of revenue to the Government, no increase of rent to the landlord, can be equivalents for the disaffection, demoralization, and despair of subjects and tenants, who contemplate relief only from the destruction of those who, they think, cause their distress. It is a calculation worthy of notice, what proportion of high revenue or high rents is lost, or how much they are lessened in their value, when collected, as in Ireland, under the protection of the bayonet, and when tenants cannot take new farms without the risk of being shot at their own doors. The Highlands are yet far from this state; but the approach, however distant, should be guarded against. We have still much honourable principle and moral feeling. These may be destroyed, but they may also be preserved; so that, when a regiment is raised in the Highlands, a party of them may be selected for important duties, (as in the case of the Dumbartonshire,) because "the nature of the service requires confidential, trustworthy men."

# REAY.

## 1794.

THE history of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus and the Imperialists gave celebrity and distinction to the regiments raised at different periods by the family of Mackay, Lords Reay, in consequence of the estimation in which these corps were held by the greatest Captain of his age. For many centuries an intimate connection and correspondence had subsisted between Scotland and several of the Continental nations. The long and friendly intercourse with France, first established by the ancient league, * as it was called in

* In the Introduction to Beague's History of the Campaigns in Scotland in the years 1548 and 1549, printed in Paris in 1556, the author states, that, in consequence of the alliance between France and Scotland, unlimited confidence was placed in the Scots by the kings of France, who had always a strong body guard of that nation. He adds, "This guard alone continued to attend the French kings till the reign of Charles the Seventh, who joined some French companies with them in the honourable employment; yet, so as to give the Scots the place and pre-eminence in all things;—for example, the Captain of the Scots Guards, so called to this day, (1556,) is always designed the first Captain of His Majesty's Guards. He begins to attend the first day of the year, and, when others are on duty, he may take the first rank, and officiate accordingly. When the king is anointed, the Captain of the Scots Guards stands by him, and when the ceremony is over, he takes his robes as his due. When the keys of any town or fortress were presented to his Majesty, he returned them that minute to the Captain of the Scots Guards. Twenty-five of this guard wear always, in testimony of unspotted fidelity, white coats, overlaid with silver lace, and six of them in their turns stand next to the Royal Person at all times, and all seasons,—in the church, at the reception of ambassadors,

the days of Robert the First of the Stewarts, nearly five hundred years ago, was so well preserved, that, in the year 1629, when the author of the "Military Memoirs of a Cavalier" travelled through France, he and his companions "found it very convenient to call themselves Scotch instead of English; for nothing was so much caressed as the Scotch, and a man had no more to do in France, if he would be well received there, than to say he was a Scotchman." In the North of Europe the case was nearly the same. The Highlanders had their share of the beneficial consequences of this friendly feeling. After the year 1624, and early in the Thirty Years' War, Lord Reay, the Laird of Fowlis, and other gentlemen of the Highlands, passed over to Germany with 3,000 followers, of whom one regiment of 1,000 men consisted of Lord Reay's own immediate clansmen. * These

in the courts of justice, and generally on all public and solemn occasions whatever. It is the privilege of twenty-five of these gentlemen to carry the corpse of the French kings from Paris to their burial-place at St Dennis. In a word, that guard has ever been in possession of all the honour and confidence the king of France can bestow upon his nearest and dearest friends."

The above was written by a French author, consequently there can be no doubt either of its authenticity or impartiality.

The recollection of this friendly alliance is not lost in France, particularly in the southern provinces, where ancient manners and feelings have been less changed by the Revolution. The appearance of the Highland regiments revived these recollections, and when travelling through Gascony, Languedoc, and Provence, I generally found the mention of my name met with a desire to know if I was from Scotland, accompanied by a number of observations on the friendly connection which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland, and with more knowledge of circumstances and more of anecdotes on the part of the people, than could have been expected; concluding always with an expression of regret on account of the interruption of the ancient intimacy.

* An eye-witness of the conduct, and a sharer in the campaigns of this regiment, speaks in the following terms: "And thus exercised they were, that their enemis in all rencounters could not but duly praise them, calling them the invincible old regiment, which always rencountered with them on all occasions, so that Mackay's name was most frequent through the glorious fame of their never dying fame and regi-

served in Count Mansfeldt's army, and were so frequently opposed to the enemy, that, in two years, more than half their number had fallen in battle. Reinforced, however, to their original strength, they joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus in 1629. "They were his right hand in battle, brought forward in all dangerous enterprises; and they may, like himself, be said to have fallen in the field, and to have been buried with the honours of war." In confirmation of these allegations, the author of the Military History of Gustavus Adolphus gives several instances. At the battle of Leipzig, on the 7th September 1631, between the Swedes, under Gustavus, and the Imperialists, commanded by the celebrated General Count Tilly, when the battle had continued for some time, the Saxon troops, auxiliaries of the Swedes, had been driven from the field, and other corps much pressed; "in short, all that wing was shattered, and in an ill condition. At this juncture came the King, and, having seen what havock the enemy had made of Cullenbach's troops, he came riding along the front of our three brigades, and himself led us on to the charge; when the Scots advanced, seconded by some regiments of horse, which the King had also sent to the charge, the bloodiest fight began that ever man beheld; for the Scots brigade, giving fire, three ranks at a time, over one another's heads, poured in their shot so thick, that the enemy were cut down like grass before a scythe; and, following into the thickest of their foot, made a most dreadful slaughter, and yet there was no flying. Tilly's men might be killed, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, or marched, or retreated, by their officers; and, though they knew all was lost, would take no quarter, but fought it

ment, never wronged by fortune in their fame, though divers times by their enemies' valour they sustained great loss; but would to God they had always met man to man, or that our army consisted of such men, and such officers, of which I was the most unworthiest." *

* Colonel Munro, Expedition. London, printed 1641.

out to the last; the men being found dead, next day, in rank and file as they were drawn up." * There is honour in overcoming an enemy, but it must be enhanced, beyond all comparison, when the victory is gained over such a steel-hearted enemy as these brave Germans. The same author states, that, "when the King was before the strong castle of Marienburgh, which was thought impregnable, the enemy defying the Swedes to do their worst, it was well provided with all things necessary, and a strong garrison in it. The castle stood on a high rock, and on the steep of the rock was a bastion, which defended the only passage up the hill into the castle. The Scots were chosen to make this attack, and the King was an eye-witness of their gallantry. I observed that most of the Scots officers, who were not called upon this duty, prepared to serve as volunteers, for the honour of their country. I was determined to see this piece of service, and joined myself to the volunteers. It was a piece of service that seemed perfectly desperate,—the advantage of the hill,—the precipice we were to mount,—the height of the bastion,—the resolute courage and number of the garrison, who, from a complete covert, made a terrible fire upon us,—all joined to make the action hopeless; but the fury of the Scots was not to be abated by any difficulties. They mounted the hill, scaled the works like madmen, running upon the enemy's pikes; and, after two hours' desperate fight, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The volunteer officers also had their share, and of the loss too. Fourteen officers were killed out of thirty, and almost all were wounded. The King received us, as we drew off at the bottom of the hill, calling the soldiers his brave Scots, and commending the officers by name." *

By repetition of such services as these, the King quickly diminished the number of "his brave Scots;" and, at the

* Memoirs of an English Cavalier.

battle of Lutzen, on the 16th of November 1633, where this great and true soldier, "the saviour of Germany, the soul of the war," was killed, the brigade was reduced to a perfect skeleton, nine-tenths of the men having preceded or accompanied the King in his honourable death. The destruction of the Mackays in particular was accelerated by a separate piece of service, the storming of New Brandenburg. On this occasion, although successful, "half of Lord Reay's regiment was here cut to pieces, almost without a single exception." Such, immediately before and after the year 1630, was the military service of the clan Mackay. To be the favourite troops of such a consummate judge of military merit as Gustavus Adolphus, and in an army composed of veteran troops, who had fought and gained so many battles,—to maintain a character of such pre-eminence as to be employed on occasions of the greatest difficulty, was certainly an honourable distinction. * This being the character of the Mackays of the seventeenth century, it

* In 1629 Colonel Munro of Fowlis raised 700 men on his own and the neighbouring estates, as a reinforcement to those sent to Germany in 1626. They embarked at Cromarty, but meeting with very bad weather, were shipwrecked near Rugenwall, between Staten and Dantzic. All their stores and arms were lost, with the exception of their swords, and a few muskets which were thrown into one of the boats; no ammunition was saved. In this state Colonel Munro determined to attempt Rugenwall by assault, although defended by a strong garrison of Imperialists. The enemy had troops quartered all round the country, therefore no time was to be lost. He pushed forward after it was dark, scaled the walls at midnight, and, entering the place sword in hand, killed all that resisted, and made the rest prisoners. He immediately supplied his men with arms and ammunition from the garrison stores, in which was included an ample stock of provisions. He fortified and obstructed all the passages into the place, and maintained this post for nine weeks, repulsing every attempt to retake it, till he was relieved by a Scotch regiment under Colonel Hepburn, and a body of Swedish troops. Although this instance of courage and military talent is foreign to the service of the Reay Fencibles, it is given here as an example to the countrymen and descendants of those men, and as an incentive to maintain the honour of their hereditary name. Such a stimulus as this would have been more appropriate to, and effective on, the Highlanders,

is to be regretted that their descendants, of the eighteenth, had not a more enlarged field than the limited service of a Fencible regiment to show how far the character of their ancestors had descended with their blood.

At the commencement of the late war with France, the then Lord Reay being incapable, through mental weakness, of managing his own affairs, and Government wishing to form a regiment from those districts which had formerly sent forth so many brave soldiers, directed that a Fencible corps should be raised in "Lord Reay's country," (as that district is called,) and gave instructions to select as officers a few respectable gentlemen of this clan, whose influence might, in the absence of their Chief, be effectual, and whom, it was supposed, the men would readily follow. For this purpose no man was better qualified, by respectability of character and personal influence, than the late George Mackay of Bighouse, who was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and in whom were united every requisite quality and accomplishment on which the Highlanders place the highest value.

The expectations formed of the dispositions of the people were quickly realized, and a few weeks only were necessary for assembling 800 Highlanders, of whom more than 700 men had the word *Mac* prefixed to their names. But these men had a better claim to notice than their names. They were brave, moral, and humane. Happily the opportunities they had of evincing their courage and humanity were few, but sufficient to show what might have been expected from a severer trial. Their moral conduct was coexistent with their military career, and, as it was excellent at the beginning, so it continued praise-worthy to the last.

The regiment was inspected by Sir Hector Munro, em-

of other times, than of the present, seeing that in many places few are left, and lessons or examples almost unnecessary. In a country where there are few people to recount and improve their minds by examples of honourable principle and heroism, and when a proportion of those who do remain are importations from distant countries, there can be no kindred feelings susceptible of excitement by recording the heroic deeds of a brave ancestry.

bodied at Fort George in March 1795, and immediately removed to Ireland, where it remained till the end of the war. During the Rebellion, this corps acquired the confidence of the Generals commanding in a very remarkable manner; and, as Gustavus Adolphus employed Lord Reay's regiment in all dangerous enterprises, so did Generals Lake and Nugent place a firm dependence on the service of the Reay Fencibles. General Lake had always his own guard formed of these men, to whom he became so much attached, that he seldom passed any guard or post when they were on duty, without alighting from his horse, going among them, and holding conversation with them. At the defeat of Castlebar he frequently exclaimed, "If I had my brave and honest Reays here, this would not have happened." The unfortunate service in which they were engaged afforded little opportunity of showing their firmness. At Tarra Hill, on the 26th of May 1798, three companies of the Reays, under a spirited and judicious veteran, Captain Hector Maclean, who had served nearly thirty years in the 42d regiment, supported by two troops of Lord Fingal's and the Tower Hill Yeomanry, drove back and scattered a body of rebels who were "in great force on this strong and elevated position." But it was not in driving back an unfortunate and misguided multitude that General Lake, and other officers of judgment, formed their opinion of this corps; it was on their uniform, well-regulated, and well-principled conduct.

I have already stated, that, in every case where I have had occasion to state facts and circumstances, from the necessity of abridgment I have seldom given more than one or two of a great number of instances. On the present occasion, I shall mention only one of the many traits of character which impressed the then commanders in Ireland with a favourable opinion of these men. When quartered in Belfast, a regiment of militia, 1,100 strong, were in the same barracks. Several soldiers of this corps had been tried and executed as united Irishmen, and strong suspicions were entertained of the whole regiment. The Reay Fencibles had the duty of

the main guard on the night previous to the execution. A report had gone abroad that the militia regiment was to rush out at midnight, overpower and murder the guard, which was under the command of Captain Maclean, and set their condemned comrades at liberty. At 10 o'clock that night a party of the Reays, sufficient to fill the guard-house, slipped silently out of their barracks, with their arms under their plaids, and sat up with the guard, while those who remained in the barracks put out all lights, and continued in arms on the watch till day-light, ready to start out on the smallest alarm. All this was done without any order or hint from their officers, and with such prudent caution, that the circumstance was not known to the other corps, and no ill will or jealousy existed, in consequence, between the soldiers of either regiment. But this was not always the case, for a dispute which took place between them and another militia regiment, might have ended very seriously, had it not been checked by the prompt interference of Generals Lake and Mackay Baillie. But here, instead of taking their arms, as on the occasion just mentioned, they laid them aside, and supplied themselves with sticks and cudgels. Notwithstanding this instance of improper feeling, and bad blood between this and one of the native corps, with the people they were so conciliating, and on such a friendly footing, that it was remarked in those parts of the country where they were cantoned, that "the inhabitants were quiet, apparently less disaffected, and more regular in their habits," than elsewhere. Thus, while their manners and habits were such as to render the exertion of strict military discipline unnecessary, so far as regarded any coercive measure, other traits of character attracted particular notice. For instance, a practice prevailed, as in other corps of the same country and character, of remitting to their relations at home sums of money, small in themselves, but large in proportion to the means of supply, from the savings of a soldier's daily subsistence, (at that period only sixpence per day.) But, while these soldiers indulged their naturally affectionate disposition by assisting

their relatives by acts of liberality, they retained enough of money to enable them to pursue their social amusements; and it was a frequent practice to subscribe among themselves, and give dances to their acquaintances, not only in the barracks, but frequently in public rooms and places allotted for the purpose, which they hired. On these occasions the officers attended, as also many respectable inhabitants of the different towns in which they were at the time quartered, attracted by curiosity, and a feeling of satisfaction from seeing men conduct themselves in such a manner as to reflect credit on the profession to which they belonged. Among these men crimes which require severe punishments had no existence. "Indeed, the men would have considered it a banishment for ever from their native country, where they could not show themselves in day-light, if degraded by disgraceful punishments." Several men, however, deserted, and several received corporal punishment, during the seven years the regiment was stationed in Ireland, but these were men not originally enlisted in the corps; they were a party by themselves, and the "standard and original men of the regiment would not associate with them." Had it not been for these men, this corps would have had the satisfaction of returning to their native glens without a man of their number having been disgraced. But, as it was, those degraded men were not of *their* country or *their* kindred.

The Reay Fencibles were removed to Scotland, and reduced in 1802.

## INVERNESS-SHIRE.

### 1794.

GOVERNMENT having determined to raise Fencible regiments on a more extended scale of service than those embodied in 1793, Major Baillie of Duncan received letters of service to raise a Fencible corps of 600 men, with the privilege of appointing one field officer with permanent rank in the army.

The service of the men was to extend to England, Ireland, and the British Isles. Major Gordon Cumming of Pitlurg was appointed to the permanent step of lieutenant-colonel. The letters of service were dated the 21st of November 1794, but the corps was not completed till October 1795, when the whole was embodied at Inverness, under the name of the Loyal Inverness Fencible Highlanders. Though the uniform was the full Highland garb, there were not more than 350 Highlanders in the regiment. A considerable proportion of the men was from the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire; a few from the South Lowlands; and some from England; with about forty Welshmen, who appeared more partial to the plaid than some of the Highlanders. To the Lowlanders of Aberdeen, as well as Perthshire, it was more objectionable than to either the English or Irish. When dislikes and jealousies subsist between neighbouring countries or districts, the nearer they are, the more bitter their animosities. The Spaniards and Portuguese hate one another more cordially than they do any other people on earth. Not seventy years ago, antipathies of this nature were very prevalent among this now united people of the

Lowland and Highland borders of Angus, Perth, and Stirling; nor was there a town in Scotland in which the Mountaineers were more ridiculed for their poverty, their dress, and all their real or supposed characteristics of ferocity, ignorance, indolence, and superstition, than in Perth. I know not if it was any remnant of this feeling that made some of the Lowlanders assume the garb with some degree of sulky dislike, while the young men of Wales wore it with great cheerfulness, and seemed to be quite pleased with their own appearance when they put it on.

Immediately after the final inspection, the corps was ordered for Ireland, without waiting for clothing or arms, which were delivered to them at Glasgow, as they marched through to embark. Kilkenny was their first quarters in Ireland; but, in the course of a few years, they traversed the greatest part of that country. Colonel Baillie died in 1797, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Cumming was appointed colonel. *

The Inverness-shire Fencibles were actively employed during the Rebellion in Ireland, and on every occasion behaved with spirit. After the suppression of the Rebellion, in compliment to their good behaviour, the designation of the corps was changed to "the Duke of York's Royal Inverness-shire Highlanders." The establishment was increased, and blue facings were substituted for the former, which were yellow. In 1801, the whole regiment made a voluntary offer of their service for any part of the world. This spirited offer of the corps is highly creditable to the discipline of Colonel Gordon and his officers. Thus ready for the service of their country will British soldiers always be found when they are properly treated, when their feelings are consulted, and when the nature of their duty, and what may be expected of them, are fully explained. In cases where this spirit has

* Colonel Gordon offered to raise a regiment at this time, but it being found that his recruiting and Colonel Baillie's would interfere with each other, they united, and formed one corps.

failed in producing the proper effect, the fault has generally, if not always, consisted in the want of address, of proper management, and of proper attention to the soldiers on the part of those who had the immediate command, or who had been specially entrusted with such orders and instructions. In those instances of failure, or apparent want of spirit in corps, which I have had occasion to notice, (in the course of my attempt to give an account of the conduct, character, and service of Highland regiments,) it invariably proceeded from a want of previous explanation, and a consequent misapprehension on the part of the soldiers, or the misrepresentations of malicious and designing men. As I will more fully explain afterwards, no improper spirit would have been displayed by the detachments of the 42d and 71st regiments, or by the Athole Highlanders, Grant Fencibles, &c. had it not been for these causes; and as they are so easily avoided, and as a proper British spirit may be easily preserved among our regiments, these circumstances have been more frequently alluded to, as a warning not unworthy the attention of those who may henceforth be entrusted with the command of a spirited, generous soldiery, emulous of glory, and jealous of the character of their native country.

This voluntary offer of the Inverness-shire Fencibles, on which the preceding reflections are founded, could not be accepted, as the speedy termination of the war put an end to all active operations, and the regiment had no opportunity of proving how far their regular and spirited conduct in quarters could be confirmed by their courage, and success in the field.

In 1802, the regiment was removed from Ireland, and reduced at Stirling in the month of March.

# FRASER.

## 1794.

The name of Fraser, as connected with the military annals of this country, must be familiar to all who are conversant with the history of the two wars on the continent of America. Connected always with honour and a military name, and remembered with feelings of respect, founded on the coincident opinion of friends and enemies, the examples shown by those two corps, the Fraser's Highlanders of the Seven Years' War, and that of the American Revolution, afforded a gratifying proof of the influence of honour, derived from moral principles, on the minds and actions of men, uneducated in the general acceptation of the word, but with an education that served every purpose of more formal instruction.

With the recollection of the name and character thus obtained, when the youth of the nation were called to arms at the commencement of the last war, the clan Fraser did not forget how their kindred and clansmen had obeyed the call in former times. The then Chief of the clan Fraser, the youngest son of the last Lord Lovat, and brother of the late General Fraser, being advanced in years, and his eldest son being under age, letters of service were issued to James Fraser of Belladrum, the head of a respectable branch of the family, and who had served under his Chief in Canada during the Seven Years' War. The orders were dated in the latter end of 1794; and in the following spring, Colonel Fraser, supported by Lovat and the principal gentlemen of the clan, completed his regiment. On

the 14th of June 1795, the whole were inspected and embodied at Inverness. Of the soldiers 300 bore the name of Fraser, and were chiefly from the districts of the Aird and Stratherrick. The others were from the neighbouring districts, except 30 Lowlanders and 18 English and Irish, old soldiers, enlisted by some officers to fill up their complement.

The uniform was the usual Highland garb, with belted plaids and philibegs of the Fraser tartan, but without broad swords, which, as I have already noticed, were laid aside at the commencement of the American War.

The regiment was marched south in July, and, crossing over to Ireland, landed there on the 1st of August. In that country, "the general character of the corps was excellent: they had a high degree of the *esprit de corps*; were obedient, active, and trusty; gaining the entire confidence of the generals commanding, by whom they were always stationed in the most disturbed districts, previous to and during the Rebellion. Many attempts were made to corrupt them, but in vain: no man proved unfaithful. The men were not in general large, but active, well made, and remarkable for steady marching, never leaving any stragglers, even on the quickest and longest marches." Such is the character given of this corps by an able and intelligent officer, who knew them well.

In November 1797, Colonel Fraser of Belladrum resigned, and Simon Fraser, the younger of Lovat, was appointed colonel. Soon after this period, the disturbances which had so long agitated Ireland began to assume a more formidable appearance; and Government found, that, in attempts to keep down the spirit of disaffection and disloyalty, some of the troops showed symptoms of the same disposition. In this situation, full confidence was placed in the Fraser Fencibles. When invasion was attempted by the French, and a landing effected at Killala, this regiment, along with others, was pushed forward; and, in the unfortunate rencounter at Castlebar, they were so circumstanced,

that a just opinion of their conduct cannot well be formed, farther than that they were the last to retreat.

In Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, the following instance is given of intrepid execution of duty entrusted to "a Highland Fraser sentinel, whom his friends desired to retreat with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some steps leading to it. He loaded and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but, before he could charge a sixth time, they rushed on him." If all the soldiers at Castlebar had behaved with equal firmness, the French invasion would have ended on that day.

This corps remained in Ireland till the conclusion of the war. In barracks, their conduct was uniformly good, and, except in such cases as I have had frequent occasion to notice, corporal punishments were equally unnecessary and unknown, and in this respect there was no deviation till the reduction of the regiment at Glasgow in July 1802.

## LOCHABER.

### 1799.

This year Donald Cameron of Lochiel was appointed Colonel of a regiment of Fencibles, to be raised in the north of Scotland, and to be called the Lochaber Fencible Highlanders.

The ready zeal with which this gentleman's ancestors had entered into every measure which tended to support the Royal Family of Scotland is well known. This zeal was equally exerted to preserve them on the throne, and to restore them when driven from it. In the Rebellion in the reign of Charles I., Sir Ewan Cameron was the last who held out against the power of Oliver Cromwell, to whom, indeed, he never fully submitted, constantly annoying and cutting off the supplies of the garrisons planted in the country during the continuance of the Commonwealth.

The share which his grandson had in the Rebellion of 1745 brought ruin on his family. He was attainted, and escaped to France, where he died in 1757. *

No gentleman in the Highlands was more respected for his virtues and accomplishments, or commanded more influence in proportion to his property, than this Chief. To this day the name of Lochiel is never mentioned in Locha-

* A brother of this gentleman, also an exile in consequence of the Rebellion, believing that the terrors of the law, which had for some years hung over him, would be softened by the lapse of time, returned to London in 1752. But he was apprehended, tried, and executed, on his original attainder.

ber without a sigh of regret and an expression of respect. * There was, therefore, reason for the belief that some family influence still remained. But Colonel Cameron laboured under great disadvantages. Born and educated in a distant country, he was almost a stranger in the land of his ancestors; but his name, which, sixty years preceding, would of itself have raised a warlike host, still excited a feeling of respect and attachment to his family, which only required his appearance to turn it to the best advantage. Colonel Cameron accordingly found, that, in Lochaber, all were ready to support him. By this means, and the exertions of officers in other parts of the country, a body of 800 men was assembled at Falkirk in May 1799. Of these the Highlanders exceeded 560 men. This number was afterwards increased, to fill up vacancies occasioned by men volunteering into regiments of the line; making the total number 740 Highlanders.

The regiment was immediately removed to Ireland.

In the course of remarking on the character and conduct of different corps, there has, I fear, been too much sameness and repetition. But, as it may be interesting to many to mark the character supported by corps, either collectively or individually, I have generally noticed only the most prominent traits. I was also desirous of inquiring whether the people who form my subject, preserved the same character in corps of limited and home service as in those which were called to meet the enemy. With regard to the Lochaber regiment, it may be said of them, as of many others, that three-fourths of the men were not only irreproachable, but exemplary, in their conduct; but as little interesting can be said of the service of a regiment in country-quarters among friends, I shall add a few notices of the military character, capability, and talents

* The generous attachment of his tenants, who remitted to him their full rents, while they paid to Government those which it demanded, has already been noticed, as also the affection shown towards his son, when a company was raised for him in Fraser's Highlanders in 1775.

exhibited by the Chief of the Camerons and his clan in the seventeenth century, as an example to those of the name who remain in their native country, and to show that courage, loyalty, and independence of spirit, enabled this clan to set at defiance the troops of a man no ways disposed to show mercy to those opposed to his usurpation; and that, at last, when Lochiel entered into a treaty with Cromwell, no oath was required of him, his word of honour being deemed sufficient.

Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel was educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyle, who endeavoured to imbue him with his own political principles, and prevail with him to join the Covenanters and Puritans: but the chivalrous spirit of his pupil was ill adapted to the cant and gloomy fanaticism of that party; and, at the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyle, with an intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late to be of service to that great but unfortunate general, whose reverses had commenced before Lochiel left Inverary. But he was not idle. He kept his men in arms, and completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he was the first to join the Earl of Glencairn, who hoisted the royal standard in the Highlands. In different rencounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others, he highly distinguished himself, and in particular in a smart skirmish between Lord Glencairn and Lilburne in Braemar, where Lochiel was posted at a pass, which he defended till the royal army had retreated to a distance. In the mean time, Lilburne came round and attacked Lochiel in the flank. This he also resisted for some time, till at last, finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought an additional force against him, he gradually retreated up the hill, showing a front to the enemy, who durst not follow him far, as the ground was steep and covered with snow. Glencairn's army was at that time in a disorganized state,

principally owing to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who would not yield to one another, and sometimes not even to the General. Lochiel kept clear of the whole, and, stationing himself on the outposts, was uniformly successful in skirmishes with the enemy, whom he constantly harassed. How his services were estimated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Lochiel, dated 3d November 1653.

"CHARLES R.

"*To our trusty and well-beloved the Laird of Lochiel:*

"We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country is at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of such your good courage, and return you our thanks for the same; and we hope all honest men, who are lovers of us and of their country, will follow your example, and that you will unite together in the ways we have directed, and under that authority we have appointed to conduct the prosecution of so good a work: so we do assure you, we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service, and so we heartily bid you farewell.—Given at Chantilly, Nov. 3, 1653, in the fifth year of our reign."

In pursuance of this line of conduct, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to act wherever his service might be required. In 1654, he joined Lord Glencairn's army, with a strong regiment, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, he was often hard pressed, and encountered many difficulties, but his presence of mind and resolution never forsook him. General Monk made several attempts to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the

part of Cromwell, which he uniformly rejected and despised. At length Monk resolved to establish a garrison at Inverlochay, in Lochiel's neighbourhood, to force him and other loyal chiefs to surrender, or at least to give them so much employment in their own country as would prevent their undertaking expeditions against those who had submitted to Cromwell in the Lowlands. Colonel Bigan, the commander of the expedition, carried his troops, stores, and materials for building, by sea, and soon raised a small fort, forming a temporary defence against the musquetry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Lochiel watched their motions from a hill north of the fort, and had spies who informed him of all that was passing among the strangers. On the fifth day he was told that 300 men were to embark and sail a few miles along the coast, for the purpose of landing, and cutting down his wood, and carrying away his cattle. He had only 38 men with him at the time; and, there not being a moment to lose, he hurried along in a line with the vessel, but covered by the woods, came close to where they landed, and was soon able to count 140 armed men, besides a number with axes and working instruments. He immediately consulted with his friends. The younger part were for instant attack, but the elder and more experienced remonstrated against it as a rash and most hazardous enterprise. Lochiel then asked two of his people who had served under Montrose, whom he wished to consider as his model, and whose name was seldom out of his mouth, if they had ever seen him engage against such odds?—The men declared they never had. However, Lochiel, eager to signalize himself, and to be thought worthy of being ranked in the same class with the hero he wished to imitate, addressed his men in a few energetic words, and called on every man, who loved his King and country, to follow him. On this they all started up, and declared they would instantly attack the English, but entreated that he and his brother Allan would remain behind; as, in case of any serious accident happening to them, no victory over the English could compensate

their loss; and, as to any casualties among themselves, they would be soon supplied and forgotten. Lochiel, as might be expected, spurned at the proposal with regard to himself, but ordered that his brother Allan should be tied to a tree, and a little boy left to attend him; but young Allan flattered or terrified the boy to release him, and was immediately with his friends.

The Camerons were armed partly with musquets, and partly with bows, but all with broad swords. They rushed forward close to the enemy, and brought down 30 with the first fire. They then attacked with their swords, the English defending themselves with the bayonet. The skirmish was long and obstinate. At last the English gave way, but retreated slowly, contesting every step, with their faces towards their enemy. Lochiel, with a view of alarming them, and to prevent their escape to their boats, sent two men round the flanks to the rear, to fire and make a noise, as if a fresh party had arrived. This made the English desperate. Instead of throwing down their arms, however, they only fought the harder, expecting no quarter from such desperate savages: but, at last, being completely borne down, they fled, and were pursued by the Camerons chin-deep into the sea, till the people in the boats received their friends and drove back the Highlanders. Of the enemy 138 were killed, more than three times the number of Lochiel's men, who only lost 7, some accounts say 5, men. They had here the advantage of being the assailants, and, from the first surprise, pressed forward on the enemy, who had not an instant's remission to recover from the confusion in consequence of the rapidity and force of the attack.

In a few days afterwards, and before the alarm and surprise of this disaster had subsided, Lochiel cut off a small foraging party from the garrison. But he was now called away to join Lord Glencairn, and, collecting his men, joined the general's army in Athole. He had not been long with his Lordship, when he heard that the garrison had taken advantage of his absence, and sent parties to harass

and plunder his people. He returned in great haste with 150 men, and received a report, the day he arrived, that the troops were the following day to visit his kinsman Cameron of Glenevis's lands. Early that morning, he took post, with 190 of his own and Glenevis's men, near the river side at the foot of Benevis, then covered with wood near half a mile up the mountain. He did not wait long. About 500 men passed him. He gave the signal to his men, who rushed upon the soldiers like furies, totally routed them, and continued the pursuit close to the fort. Upwards of 100 were killed, and many wounded, but the killed always doubled the wounded in these close and desperate encounters. In this manner, he gave the garrison no rest; for, when they did not send out parties for fear of meeting with him, he frequently opened a fire of musquetry upon the garrison at night, as if he meant to attack by assault; thus depriving the soldiers of rest, as well as preventing excursions into the country. Indeed, his name now carried so much terror, that a report of himself or his men being in the neighbourhood prevented all egress from the fort, and his country and people were not for a long time disturbed.

General Middleton being unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan at Lochgarry, sent for Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and joined the General, who had retreated to Braemar. In the course of this expedition Lochiel had several rencounters with General Morgan, but the judgment and promptitude with which he took the advantage of the nature of his ground, the great activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of his movements, gave him such decided advantage, that he lost very few men, while he consumed a number of the enemy, who were often attacked both on flanks and rear, when they knew not that an enemy was within many miles of them.

But General Middleton was obliged to submit, and the war was now finished, except with Lochiel, who still stood

out, and would not submit to the encroachments of the troops quartered in a garrison so near him. Encouraged by the submission of General Middleton, and the absence of Lochiel, who had accompanied Middleton to the Isle of Skye, where he embarked, the garrison sent out hunting parties to Lochiel's lands, and not always satisfied with killing the deer and small game, they occasionally made a sweep of the cattle and goats. When Lochiel heard of this, he hurried back from Skye, and being told of an intended hunting party from the garrison, he determined to disturb their sport. He arranged as many men as he thought necessary in different places, and giving directions how to act, waited the appearance of the military. He had not to remain long, when the Highlanders seeing the party within proper distance, rushed out in their usual manner, killing several, and taking the others prisoners, without allowing a man to escape back to the garrison. The officers were at first terrified at falling into the hands of such a savage people, from whom they had suffered so much, and of whose ferocity they had heard so many tales. However, they were greatly and agreeably surprised. Their treatment was kind and gentle. Lochiel contributed to make their time pass agreeably, and made different hunting matches in the Highland style for their amusement. This brought on an intimacy, in the course of which they recommended a treaty with the General. But he declared he would never submit to their canting and ambitious Protector. He resisted several attempts to prevail with him to yield, and although he was most anxious for an honourable treaty, as his country was impoverished, and his people nearly ruined, he continued to protest, that, before he would disarm himself and his clan, abjure his King, and take oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that if he only showed an inclination to submit, no oath should be required, and he should have his own terms. Soon afterwards General Monk, then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions, and sent

them to Lochiel, who made a few slight alterations, and accepted them, and well he might, for they were of the following honourable tenor, as we learn by General Monk's letter:

"No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms, as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochay. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to the tenants for all the losses they sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid to be remitted." All that General Monk demanded of Lochiel was, that he and his men should lay down their arms in name of King Charles II., before the garrison of Inverlochay, and take them up again in name of the States, without mentioning the Protector, and that he would afterwards keep the peace, pay public burdens, and suppress all tumults and depredations.

Such was the reward of his chivalrous gallantry, unconquerable zeal, and honourable fidelity to the cause he had espoused. The day the treaty was to be signed, Lochiel drew up his men in companies, led by the heads of the most respectable families of the clan, such as Cameron of Glenevis, Callart, Lindevra, Errach, Dungallon, &c., marched to Inverlochay as if going to battle, with pipes playing, and colours flying, and drawing them up in line in front of the garrison, the troops marched out to receive them in the same manner. The Commanders saluted each other as friends, the treaty was read, the ceremony of laying down and taking up the arms performed, and both parties dined together, the Governor having prepared a great entertainment for the occasion. This was in June 1654.

Lochiel and the Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration. Respect for his character, the celebrity which the name of Cameron had acquired, and the Chief being al-

ways ready to redress grievances, and prevent encroachments on his property, formed the best guarantee of a permanent peace.

Lochiel joined the standard of King James in 1689, and at the battle of Renrorie, or Killiecrankie, as it is called in English, he had a conspicuous share in the success of the day.

When General Mackay's army shouted at the commencement of the action, Lochiel cried out, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal on such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout." These words spreading quickly through the army, animated the troops: they rushed on the enemy, and the battle was finished, as has been already noticed, in half an hour.

After this battle, Lochiel, disgusted with the want of capacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded Lord Dundee, retired to Lochaber, and left the command of his men to his son. This chivalrous hero, and honourable chief, died in 1718, in the 89th year of his age. *

A narrative such as the foregoing, may, as I have already said, appear somewhat out of place in filling up the service of a fencible regiment; but as almost no corps can boast of a service displaying such courage and enterprise, I cannot, at least it appears to me that I cannot, produce any example more worthy the imitation of the clan. Various causes and circumstances, which have had too great prevalence in the Highlands, have contributed to thin the name of Cameron, in the glens where this spirit of independence originated, and was cherished and preserved till a very late period. Should the circumstances of the times, at any future period, render it necessary to arm this clan, and should there be as many left, as that a body of them can be collected together, sufficiently numerous to establish for themselves

* Energetic and active as was the mind of Sir Ewen Cameron, it yielded to the inroads of age. Some years before his death he became a perfect child, and was rocked to sleep in a kind of hammock, or cradle.

a distinct character, that character, whether good or the reverse, will be their own. But they should remember, that the undaunted courage of their ancestors was productive of peace to their district, restitution of all their losses, and security and happiness for many years.

The account of Lochiel's campaigns is taken from a manuscript preserved by Mr Pennant, and from tradition; but tradition so uniformly and so fully confirmed, that there cannot be a doubt of the correctness of the details. Lord Glencairn's and General Middleton's letters, General Monk's frequent attempts to enter into a friendly alliance with Lochiel, and his last letter, dated at Dalkeith, stating the terms of the treaty, are sufficient proofs of the facts. The treaty itself, with a great number of curious family papers, was unfortunately destroyed when Lochiel's castle was burnt in 1746.

The military duty of the last Lochaber regiment was short. In 1800, the corps was removed to Ireland, and remaining there till 1802, returned to Scotland that year, and was reduced in the month of July at Linlithgow.

# CLAN ALPINE.

## 1799.

THIS regiment was commanded by Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray. As the clan of Macgregor are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Alpine kings, who, for so many centuries, ruled the mountains of Scotland, the "Clan Alpine" was an appropriate name for a corps commanded by a Macgregor, and having a great proportion both of officers and men who bore that name. The history of this unfortunate clan is pretty generally known, as well as the acts of Parliament passed for suppressing the name; and the proscriptions and oppressions they suffered in consequence, form a part, and not an uninstructive part, of the history of Scotland. If "oppression maketh a man mad," no wonder that the relentless ferocity with which this unfortunate race was for so many ages pursued, should have rendered them desperate. Even the patient inoffensive steer may be driven to madness by frequent goading; and as the descendants of Gregory, King of ancient Albion, are not supposed to have had more patience than was necessary, under their sufferings, the law of retaliation was not forgotten, and being a brave and warlike race, with arms in their hands, and with hearts not afraid to use them, they were not slow in taking their revenge. It has been said by friends of the clan, that much of their misfortunes originated from the circumstance of their being surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, not always over scrupulous about the means by which they accomplished their purposes,

or increased their property; and hence the encroachments which rendered the Macgregors desperate, and led to those acts of violence which caused the interference of the legislature, and the suppression of the name. In turbulent times, when law sometimes confirmed what the sword had acquired, it acted as an encouragement to spoliations, and to the hopes of obtaining permanent possession of a neighbour's property; but it should be observed, that there were many other clans and families similarly situated with the Macgregors, possessing estates in the heart of the territories of powerful neighbours, who yet neither suffered from their oppressions nor from legal proscriptions, but retained their estates entire through a succession of centuries sufficiently turbulent. Thus the family of Stewart of Appin preserved their estate entire for four centuries, although nearly surrounded on all sides by the lands of the great Clan Campbell. * In the same

* In this case there was more than common incitement to rivalry. The first Laird of Appin was a natural son of Lord Lorn, the last of the name of Stewart who possessed that title and estate. Lord Lorn having no legitimate son, his estate went to his three daughters as coheiresses. The eldest daughter married the Earl of Argyle, who by her got the lordship and estate of Lorn. The second daughter married Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, uncle to Argyle, and ancestor of the Breadalbane family, who by her got the lands on the north side of Lochawe, and part of Nether Lorn. The third married Campbell of Ottar, and dying without children, her share of the Stewarts' estate went to the children of her sister, the Countess of Argyle.

It was said that Lord Lorn intended to marry the mother of his son, and thus legitimate him, but the marriage was prevented by his sudden death; not without suspicions that it was hurried to prevent the proposed marriage. The son, seeing his hopes destroyed, seized on a portion of his father's estate, and, as disputes were not in those times often referred to legal decisions, he resorted to the law of the sword, and being supported by some of his father's tenants, sent for assistance to his mother's friends. She was of the Maclarens, a tribe at that time numerous in Balquhidder, in Perthshire. They joined Stewart their kinsman in Argyleshire, and in a pitched battle beat off the forces of his brothers-in-law, and thus established his right by the sword to the lands he claimed, and settled them on his posterity, who kept possession

manner the Clan Macnab have preserved what remained of their estates since the reign of Robert Bruce, although completely surrounded by the lands of the Campbells of Glenorchy, to whom the Macnab estates would have been a great and tempting acquisition; but the thing was never tried. * Therefore, from these and many other

of them till sold by the last Laird of Appin, about sixty years ago. Tradition says that the Maclarens lost 130 men killed in this battle, besides the loss among Stewart's own men. It was fought at the foot of Bendouran, at a short distance from the present high road passing through Glenorchy.

* The estates of this family were greatly reduced from another cause. The Macnabs joined the party of John Balliol against Robert Bruce, and were with Macdougal of Lorn when he fought and vanquished Robert Bruce at Dalree, in Breadalbane, in 1306. Having thus supported the views of Edward the First, who wished to usurp the crown of Scotland, it is rather matter of surprise that either Macdougal or Macnab should have been allowed to retain any part of their lands, and that the whole were not forfeited as after the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. In the retreat from Dalree, the king was hotly pursued by one of the Macdougals, who got hold of his cloak, or plaid, which was fixed across his breast by a large broach. The king turned round and killed the man with his battle-axe, but in his haste left the mantle and broach, which were torn off by the dying grasp of Macdougal. This highly prized trophy was preserved till destroyed when the castle of Dunolly, the family residence, was burnt in the seventeenth century. But a remarkable piece of antiquity still remains. This is a small bronze equestrian figure of a Chief of Macdougal. It is of elegant workmanship, and both figures, particularly the horse, are executed with great spirit and taste; and, if the tradition be correct as to the period, with skill altogether extraordinary. The Chief is called by the country people Ian Bachach, or John the Lame. He is represented in the statue as affected with a remarkable degree of lameness, his leg and thigh being apparently without bones, or locomotive power, and instead of hanging down the horse's side, are laid across, and fixed on the pommel of the saddle. The exact period when this Chief lived cannot now be ascertained, as the family papers, and all the ancient records and documents, were destroyed by fire. This figure being of bronze, and lying in a small press, or recess in the wall, was not injured. Tradition gives a period of 325 years, or thirteen generations, at the rate of twenty-five years for each, for the age of this equestrian figure. In these traditionary calculations the Highlanders reckon a generation twenty-five years,

instances I could give where these smaller proprietors suffered no material injury from the spoliations or conquests (if I may so call them) of their more powerful neighbours, it may be supposed, that there must have been some pre-existing cause—some violence on the part of the Macgregors—in short, (although they were not perhaps as fierce as their enemies represented them,) frequent violations of, and encroachments on, the peace, property, and persons of their neighbours, not unusual in those turbulent times. But whatever may have been the actions or character of this proscribed clan, an ample punishment was inflicted on them. In the year 1633, an act was passed, declaring it unlawful for any man to bear the name of Macgregor; that no signature bearing that name, no act or agreement entered into with a Macgregor, was legal; that to take the life of a Macgregor was not an act of felony, or any way punishable; and that no minister or preacher should at any time baptize or christen any male child of the Macgregors: and, to facilitate their extirpation, they were hunted with blood-hounds, taught to follow on the tract, and thus discover the haunts and hiding-places of the unfortunate clan. * But this species of Algerine law, with all its severities, did not destroy, or apparently influence in any manner, that spirit of loyalty so characteristic of the Highlanders, which the Macgregors evinced in the great rebellion. All of them who could carry arms joined Montrose, (although under other names,) and through his whole campaigns proved themselves loyal and true; always ready to bear a part in the execution of his most daring attempts; and, after the establishment of the Com-

and in this manner calculate the dates of past events with tolerable accuracy.

* Blood or slough-hounds were not in that age confined to the Macgregors. In a commission dated the 29th of November 1619, granted by Sir Wilfred Lawson and Sir William Hutton, knights, two of the commissioners for the middle marches, to John Musgrave, Provost Marshal, he is directed to provide slough-hounds as a protection against the lawless Scotch, the number of dogs for each parish being stated, and an assessment on the inhabitants ordered for their expences.

monwealth, they would not submit, and were ever annoying the troops stationed in the country to keep down the people. Of the value of their services to himself and his father Charles II. was fully sensible; and one of the first acts of Parliament after his restoration, was passed to repeal that of 1633, and re-establish the name of Macgregor, with all its natural and legal rights; "considering," as the act expresses, "that those who were formerly designed by the name of Macgregor had, during the troubles, carried themselves with such loyalty and affection to his Majesty, as might justly wipe off all memory of their former miscarriages, and take off all mark of reproach put upon them for the same."

But this relief was not permanent; for, in King William's reign, (in 1693,) the original act was renewed, and the Macgregors placed in the same state as in 1633 and the following years; and this law, although not enforced, was allowed to remain on the statute-books till the year 1775. * But however calamitous the state to which they were reduced, we still find the Macgregors a numerous clan. The law itself was so savage, that it was not strictly enforced. The persecuted clan found protection and friendship among their countrymen; and though few remained in Glenorchy, where they were once in great numbers, and where the last Laird of Macgregor's estate of Glenstrae lay, there are many of the name in Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Monteith, and other parts of Perthshire and the neighbouring counties. They are now reviving and increasing in numbers and respectability.

* In the session of 1774-5, a bill was brought into Parliament for restoring the name, rights, and immunities of the clan Macgregor. The bill, founded, as is stated in this act, "on the humble petition of Gregor Drummond, Esquire, and many others," passed, as might be expected, without a dissenting voice, and the clan were placed in the same situation as the rest of his Majesty's subjects. I have already had occasion to mention this gentleman as being the handsomest Highlander in a corps said to be composed of very handsome men, and as such presented to George II. in 1743.

Much of this prosperity is owing to the fostering and zealous friendship of Sir John Macgregor Murray, the elder brother of the respectable officer who was placed at the head of the Clan Alpine regiment.

In December 1798, Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray received letters of service for raising a regiment of Fencible Highlanders, and in May 1799 the men, amounting to 765, were assembled at Stirling, and inspected by Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, who expressed in handsome terms his approbation of the appearance of the men, and of the exertions of the officers.

This regiment was raised on terms of service extending to any part of Europe, and, like other corps of the same description, one of the field-officers was to have permanent and progressive army rank. Captain Alexander Macgregor Murray of the 90th regiment (son of the Colonel) was appointed Major, with the permanent step of promotion. To the soldiers, also, their service in this corps was to count as if in the regular army, should they again enter the service; thus, if a soldier served in the Clan Alpines for three years, and at any future period enlisted in a regiment of the line and served there fourteen, seventeen, or twenty years, the three he served in the Fencibles was added to strengthen his claim to a pension.

This regiment was ordered for Ireland, and quartered there in the usual manner, occupying different stations; and, in 1800, Colonel Macregor Murray received instructions to augment the strength of the corps to 1,050 men. To accomplish this was no easy undertaking, at a period when so many men had been raised, particularly in the Highlands, and required no small share of zeal and address. It would seem that both were, in this instance, successfully exerted. But two considerable detachments having volunteered for the regular regiments, it was necessary to recruit again. This was also successful, and thus there were, in all, 1,230 men in the ranks of this regiment. Of these about 780 were Highlanders, 30 English and Irish, and the others Lowland

Scotch; a lesser proportion of Highlanders than might have been expected in an Alpine regiment, had it been raised in other years than 1799 and 1800, when there had been such a drain from the Highland population for the army;* as also to supply the great and unprecedented demand for labourers in the Lowlands, exclusive of an extensive emigration; but still recruiting, when conducted with address, was successful, as we find in the case of Colonel Macgregor Murray, and his officers.

As there was a considerable difference in the character and habits of the one portion of this regiment compared with the other, the commanding officer made a judicious distinction in his preventives and punishments. Those men who had little sense of shame, (and they were few,) and to whom personal fear, or the dread of painful punishments, was the only check, he kept in restraint by an endeavour to deprive them of the means and opportunity of committing crimes; but when no preventive was sufficient, he then punished with exemplary severity. There was another small portion in the regiment whose character was not absolutely bad. Among them several misdemeanours of a slight nature occurred, and although these were not of a very criminal nature, checks were necessary. After a short confinement, these men were generally given in charge to their comrades, who, under certain conditions, were to become answerable for them. While such was the system established for two sorts of character in the corps, there was a third, and fortunately the most numerous class, for it composed nearly nine-tenths of the whole, for whom there was hardly any check necessary beyond admonition and representation of the disgrace they would bring on

* In 1799 and 1800 were raised north of the Forth, (three-fourths being from the north of the Tay,) the Clan Alpines, the Regiment of the Isles, the Lochaber, Banffshire, Argyle, the 93d, or Sutherland Highlanders, Ross and Cromarty Rangers, Macleod Fencibles. In 1798 had been embodied the Fife, Perth, Stirling, Argyle, Inverness, and Aberdeen regiments of militia.

themselves and their kindred, by discreditable conduct. In this easy manner, punishing with severity, however, when necessary, the duty of this regiment was carried on: the officers were respected, and the men contented, and prepared to show themselves good soldiers if called to meet an enemy. But this was not their fortune; and however desirous a true soldier may be to distinguish himself in the field, happily for this country our internal defence corps have never had that duty to perform. War having been long kept at a distance, its miseries were only known by report.

As the Macgregors were of old a warlike race, it is unfortunate that this regiment had not an opportunity of meeting the enemy, and of maintaining that character for courage which had so long distinguished their ancestors.

In 1802 the regiment was ordered from Ireland, and on the 24th of July reduced at Stirling.

# REGIMENT OF THE ISLES.

## 1799.

No name could be more appropriate for a regiment, commanded by a Macdonald, having a number of officers and men of the same name, and nine-tenths of which were composed of Islanders, than the "Regiment of the Isles." In the traditions of the Highlanders, the Isles are so associated with chivalry, deeds of valour, and chieftainship of a superior order, that their imaginations are immediately thrown back to those days when the Lords of the Isles, assuming sovereign authority over their insular domains, frequently entered into treaties, and contracted alliances, with the Kings of England. But their possessions were not confined to the Islands. They held extensive domains on the main land of Scotland, great part of which is to this day possessed by their descendants, Glengarry, Clanranald, Glenco, &c. It was in the Isles, however, where they could not be so easily attacked, that their principal power lay. There, as petty sovereigns, they supported a sort of regal state, being equal in power to several states in Germany, and certainly exceeding many Continental principalities in the number of disposable men at arms.

It was in Islay, the most southerly of these insular possessions, that the Macdonalds had their principal residence. A small Island in Loch Finlagan, in Islay, was "famous for being once the court in which the great Macdonald, King of the Isles, had his residence. His houses, chapels, &c. are now ruinous. His garde de corps, called Luchtach, kept guard on the lake side nearest to the isle. The walls

of their houses are still to be seen there. The high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen, sat always here; and there was an appeal to them from all the courts in the isles. The eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge. There was a big stone, of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Macdonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing in this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The Bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him King, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the Isles and Continent who were his vassals."

The preceding account of Martin will afford some idea of the estimation in which these great Chiefs were held, and the consequent power which flowed from the devotion and ready obedience of their subjects,—a power which, in times when laws were weak and inefficient, was not always exercised for the protection of their property merely, but sometimes to invade that of others, and sometimes to oppose the laws of the realm which the King was unable to enforce. But, in the words of Abercromby, in his Martial Achievements of Scotland, "Whatever may be said for or against the pretensions and conduct of these noble and potent lords, I must own that I have a vast respect for, and a feeling sense of, the exemplary and untainted loyalty, as well as prowess of their posterity,—I mean the clan and surname of Macdonald,—a clan to this day so numerous, so brave, and so generally well affected to the monarchy, that in all those respects it is equalled by few, and surpassed perhaps by none in the nation." After describing the feuds and forays which caused one clan to march with fire and sword into the country of a rival, when, during the captivity of James I. the laws were unable to reach or punish the guilty, the same author concludes, "I relate these barbarities with much reluctancy, the rather because I have a very great esteem for the often tried valour, and

undaunted loyalty of our Highland clans. They preserved themselves and us from conquest and slavery, in the days both of King Robert and King David Bruce; and, as they have ever been the last who laid down their arms as often as the nation has either been cheated or defeated out of their liberties, so they were always the first that took themup in opposition to domestic iniquity, or foreign encroachments. But the exorbitant power of the Earl of Ross, and the Lords of the Isles, the independency pretended to by the last, and the impunity which they met with *during the absence or minority of our kings*, had debauched them from all the principles of honour, humanity, and justice." *

The last Lord of the Isles died without heirs at the end of the fifteenth century, when his estate went into the possession of different proprietors, but a great proportion descended, as I have already mentioned, to the principal branches of the family. Of these descendants the Macdonalds of Sleate, Lords Macdonald, or, as they are called in Gaelic, "Maconnell," have always possessed the greatest and most populous portion of the insular domains. Along with these territorial possessions, the chieftains of this family have ever held a high station in the respect and consideration of the Highlanders. This feeling was not without cause. While the chiefs lived on their estates, surrounded by their people, the latter were treated with a patriarchal kindness which met with a grateful return. The last of this family who made Skye his constant residence was Sir Alexander Macdonald, who died in the year 1746. The power and popularity of this chieftain was seen in the year 1745, when he was surrounded by upwards of 1,300 men in arms, anxious to be led to the field under his command. Living with the hospitality of a chief, † his personal influence and character received no small addition from his marriage

* Abercromby's Martial Achievements. Edinburgh, printed 1710.

† It was said that a hogshead of claret was the weekly consumption of his table.

with Lady Margaret Montgomery, a lady whose virtues and condescending kindness made her so adored in Skye, "that when she travelled through the island, the people ran in crowds before and took the stones off the road, lest her horse should stumble and she be hurt."* One of the misfortunes which has befallen the Highlands was the premature death, at the age of thirty-six, of Sir Alexander Macdonald, and of his son and heir, Sir James Macdonald, one of the most accomplished men of his own or almost of any other country. He died of a consumption at Rome in 1766, where his character stood so high that the Pope (Clement XIII. who sent to inquire for him daily during his long illness) ordered a public funeral, and that he should be interred in consecrated ground; an unprecedented concession to a Protestant. Cardinal Picolomini wrote an elegant Latin poem to his memory. But his character, talents, and accomplishments, will be best understood by the elegant inscription, written by his intimate friend Lord Lyttleton, and placed on a monument executed in Rome, and erected in the church of Sleate, in Skye.

"To the Memory of Sir James Macdonald, Bart. who, in the flower of youth, had attained to so eminent a degree of knowledge in Mathematics, Philosophy, Languages, and in every other branch of useful and polite Learning, as few have acquired in a long life wholly devoted to study. Yet to this erudition he joined what can rarely be found with it, great talents for business, great propriety of behaviour, great politeness of manners. His eloquence was sweet, correct, and flowing; his memory vast and exact; his judgment strong and acute. All which endowments, united with the most amiable temper and every private virtue, procured him, not only in his own country, but also from foreign nations, the highest marks of esteem.

* Boswell's Tour with Dr Johnson.

In the year of our Lord 1766, the 25th of his life, after a long and extremely painful illness, which he supported with admirable patience and fortitude, he died at Rome, where, notwithstanding the difference of religion, such extraordinary honours were paid to his memory, as had never graced that of any other British subject, since the death of Sir Philip Sydney. The fame he left behind him is the best consolation to his afflicted family. And to his countrymen in this isle, for whose benefit he had planned many useful improvements which his fruitful genius suggested, and his active spirit promoted, under the sober direction of a clear and enlightened understanding. Reader, bewail our loss, and that of all Britain."

To a distant and unimproved region, like Skye, the loss of such a man was irreparable. The example of his learning and virtues, his kindly feelings towards his people, and the encouragement and improvements he contemplated for them, would, no doubt, have produced incalculable advantages. His learning and accomplishments could have been understood and appreciated by the gentlemen farmers, tacksmen, and others of his people, who, as I have already noticed, were so well educated, that conversations were frequently carried on in the Latin language. The clergymen were also of a superior class. Born of good families, zealous in the discharge of their religious duties, and learned and exemplary in their conduct, their influence over the minds and actions of their flocks was great and beneficial. Even Dr Johnson, with all his prejudices against Scotland, and the Presbyterian clergy, could not conceal his surprise at the well selected libraries and the learning he met with in Skye.

The early death of Sir Alexander Macdonald was a severe loss to Skye on another account. A few years after this event, his widow, Lady Margaret, removed to England for the education of her three sons. Sir James, the elder,

was old enough before he left his native isle, to form a strong attachment to his poor and affectionate adherents; an attachment which would have been productive of the highest benefit to them had his life been spared. Sir Archibald Macdonald, a posthumous son, who had entered into a laborious profession, and had, by his talents and virtue, risen to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, did not, like his great countrymen and brother judges, Lords Mansfield and Rosslyn, return to his native country. Sir Alexander, (the successor of Sir James,) afterwards Lord Macdonald, having been also educated in England, Dr Johnson observed of this mode of educating a young man, heir to a great estate, at a distance from, and in ignorance of the country where he has so high a stake;—he cannot acquire a knowledge of the people;—can form no local attachment;—be a stranger to his own property, and to his tenants;—is often disgusted with both, although the one be valuable by its produce, and the other estimable in character. "A strong-minded man, like Sir James Macdonald, may be improved by an English education, but in general they (the Highland chieftains) will be tamed into insignificance." In continuation of the same subject, Mr Boswell says, "My endeavours to rouse the English bred chieftain, in whose house we were, to the feudal and patriarchal feelings, proving ineffectual, Dr Johnson this morning tried to bring him to our way of thinking.—*Johnson*, "Were I in your place, Sir, in seven years I would make this an independent island. I would roast oxen whole, and hang out a flag to the Macdonalds." Sir Alexander was still starting difficulties.—*Johnson*, "Nay, Sir, if you are born to object, I have done with you; Sir, I would have a magazine of arms."—*Sir Alexander*, "They would rust."—*Johnson*, "Let there be men to keep them clean; your ancestors did not use to let their arms rust."

Four years after this conversation, Sir Alexander (created Lord Macdonald in 1776) found that arms put in the hands of his people would not be suffered to rust, and

that, when an opportunity offered, they were ready to take them up in defence of their country. This was in 1777, when the Macdonald Highland Regiment was raised under the patronage of Lord Macdonald.

Upwards of twenty years posterior to the embodying of the 76th regiment, the present Lord Macdonald requested permission from his Majesty to raise a regiment on his estates in the Isles. This request was readily granted, and a respectable body of men soon recruited.

The Regiment of the Isles was inspected and embodied at Inverness by Major-General Leith Hay, on the 4th June 1799. It would appear, from the selection made, that there was no want of men on Lord Macdonald's estate, as their age averaged twenty-two years, a period of life the best calculated to enter upon military service; not too young to suffer from, or be incapable of, supporting the hardships and fatigues peculiar to the profession, nor too old to mould the mental and personal habits of the soldier to the moral and military restraints, which the profession renders necessary. The good effects resulting from men commencing their military career at a proper age, were seen by the conduct of this regiment in garrison and quarters; for they were not called on any other duty except on one occasion, when a combination took place among the seamen of Whitehaven in 1801. The object of the seamen was to augment the rate of wages, and the ship-owners resisting their demand, the sailors persevered for several weeks, in preventing vessels from leaving the harbour. The magistrates, being anxious to avoid resorting to force, endeavoured, by argument and persuasion, to prevail upon the seamen to return to their duty, but their exertions having failed, the assistance of the Regiment of the Isles was called in. Without force, and more by the respect in which the regiment was held, and the imposing appearance of the men when drawn up and ready to act, than by any violence, the officers

prevailed upon the sailors to give up their point; every man returned to his ship; order and tranquillity were restored; and, so far from any persons being hurt or touched, the soldiers had no occasion to take their firelocks from their shoulders. Their conduct was particularly noticed by General Musgrave, who commanded on the occasion.

In July 1802 the regiment was marched to Fort George, and reduced. "Knowing the general character of Highlanders to be very tenacious of their rights, the field officers uniformly made it a rule that every man should be made fully sensible of the nature of these rights; and that not the most trifling item should, on any pretence whatever, be withheld. In this manner, when the soldiers saw themselves and their rights respected, they, in their turn, respected and obeyed their officers, flying with cheerful eagerness to execute every the slightest command or wish of men to whom they were much attached; and hence, the misunderstandings, unhappily too frequent in Highland regiments in former times, were never heard of in the Regiment of the Isles. At the reduction, the soldiers ordered out all the carriages in the garrison, and putting the officers in them, dragged them to the village of Campbeltown, where they treated them with wine," &c.

As the rugged and barren Isles of Skye and Uist have contributed a large share of the young and active of their population for the defence of their country, I shall enumerate the whole, having ascertained the number from the officers who recruited the men, from others who served with them, and from my own personal knowledge. A view of the number of those men, and of the character they exhibited, may be interesting to those who consider sound morals, respect for religion and the laws, and loyalty to the King and Government, among the bulk of the people, of vital importance to the prosperity and permanency of the state. The two great proprietors of the Isles whose lands are occupied by a loyal and moral people, must view the subject with deep interest. They have not overlooked their hap-

piness and welfare in the progress of agricultural improvements, nor will they adopt the opinion too often brought forward, that, in those changes which operate injuriously on the comforts of the people, by removing them from the cultivation of the soil, and crowding them in villages and situations possessed of no sufficient means of subsistence, "the misery is only temporary, that the evil will cure itself, and in time find its own level." Has the evil of giving extensive portions of land to men of capital, and confining the bulk of the people to small patches of the soil, found its level, or has it cured itself in Ireland? *There* it has been long in operation, and its effects on the morals and actions of the peasantry must strike every feeling mind with horror, and afford an example which ought undoubtedly to check the progress of a similar system among the moral and peaceable inhabitants of the Highlands. Poverty is an intolerable evil in all countries; and, if occasioned by oppression, especially by the oppression of individuals, whose actions are, in a particular manner, under the observation of those who suffer by them, the inevitable result must ever be, hatred and a spirit of revenge against the immediate actors, and disaffection to the government which allows, or cannot protect them from, systems which entail such evils as have rendered desperate the peasantry of a sister island, blessed with a more favourable climate, a better soil, and numberless natural advantages, capable of rendering a people happy, but whose desperation frequently produce such revolting scenes as ought to show the fallacy of that sophistry which tends to smother the feelings of humanity, under the plea, that such evils *will cure themselves, and find their own level.*

I shall now return to a more agreeable subject,—the number of men who, during the *first twelve years of the late war*, entered the service from the estates of Macdonald, Macleod, Rasay, &c. in the Isles of Skye, Uist, and the adjacent small isles.

| | No. of Men. | Total Nos. |
|---|---|---|
| *Recruited for the Regiments of the Line.* | | |
| Captain (now Major-General) Macleod recruited in the years 1793 and 1794 for the 78th regiment, - | 97 | |
| Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Campbell, Lieutenant (now Colonel) Norman Macleod, Ensigns Norman Macleod, Roderick Macqueen, and other officers of the 78th regiment, - - - | 125 | |
| Lieutenants Neil and Norman Macleod of the 116th regiment, | 39 | |
| Captain (afterwards Major-General) Macaskill, - | 45 | |
| Lieutenant (now Major) Macdonald, - | 30 | |
| Major Donald Macdonald (Boisdale) received letters of service to raise a regiment of the line in the year 1795, but he died suddenly, before the regiment was near complete, - - | 67 | |
| The 42d, 71st, 72d, 74th, 79th, 92d, and other regiments of the line, (particularly the 55th,) received from these islands - - - | 180 | |
| Caledonian Volunteers, - - | 38 | |
| Of the natives of Skye, North Uist, &c. who joined the Regiment of the Isles, the Macleod and several other Fencible corps, as also the regular militia and army of reserve, there volunteered into different regiments of the line about - - - - | 190 | |
| Total of the line, * - - | | 811 |
| *Fencibles.* | | |
| Regiment of the Isles, - - | 480 | |
| Recruited after the formation, - - | 72 | |
| | 552 | |
| Carry forward - - | 552 | 811 |

* There are now so many old soldiers settled in Skye, receiving pensions for wounds and length of service; that the circulation of so much ready money is no small advantage to their native Isles. The Collectors of Excise, who usually pay these pensions, sometimes find their collections of duties too small to meet the military payments, which have amounted to more than L. 800 at one half-yearly collection. While so many old soldiers returned home to enjoy their country's reward for their services, I have reason to know that an equal number settled in other parts of the kingdom after their discharge. In allusion to the Excise, I ought, in justice to the inhabitants of the Northern Isles, to mention that illicit distillation was unknown among them till within the last twenty years.

| | No. of Men. | Total Nos. |
|---|---|---|
| Brought forward - - | 552 | 811 |
| Macleod Fencibles, - - - | 110 | |
| Canadian, - - - - - | 60 | |
| Recruited by Captain A. Macdonald of Boisdale, Maclean of Isle of Monk, and other officers for different Fencible regiments, about - - | 150 | |
| Total Fencible men, - - | — | 872 |
| Militia and Army of Reserve for 1798 and 1803, - | | 180 |
| *Volunteers.* | | |
| In the year 1795, and the following years, ten independent volunteer companies, of 80 men each, were kept on foot in the Long Island, - - - | 800 | |
| In the year 1803, two regiments of volunteers were formed: | | |
| Isle of Skye, 1st regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel James Macleod of Rasay, - - | 507 | |
| Isle of Skye, 2d regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Macdonald of Lynedale, - - | 510 | |
| Total Volunteers, - - | — | 1,817 |
| Total number of men in arms in Skye, &c. from 1793 to 1805, | | 3,680 |

N. B.—In Skye a regiment of local militia of 500 men was formed in 1811.

## ARGYLE, GLENGARRY, &c.

Besides the twenty Fencible regiments which have been introduced in separate articles, there were six others of the same description raised in the years 1793, 1794, and 1799, several of which were almost entirely composed of Highlanders. Some were more mixed, while others, embodied in the Lowlands, contained many Highlanders, as, for instance, the Elgin regiment, which had about 300 men from the mountains. But as my information respecting the remaining Highland Fencible corps is very limited, I can do little more than mention their names and dates of formation.

The Marquis of Lorn, following the example of his predecessors, applied for, and received letters of service to raise a regiment of Fencible infantry immediately after the declaration of war in 1793. The order was dated the 1st of March. The regiment was soon after embodied at Stirling, and after performing the usual duties, was reduced in the year 1799, along with other corps of the same description.

In 1794, a second Argyle regiment was raised, and the command given to Colonel Henry M. Clavering. This battalion did not contain as many Highlanders as Lord Lorn's, but the service was more general, being extended to Ireland, where the corps was stationed, till the reduction in 1802.

In August 1794, Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry received letters of service for raising a Fencible regiment, of which he was appointed Colonel. This was a handsome body of men. More than one-half was enlisted from the estate of Glengarry. Jersey and Guernsey were the principal stations of this corps till reduced in 1802, after which event

the greater part of the Glengarry men emigrated, with their families and relations, to Canada, where they settled in a district which they have called by the name of their native glen. Every head of a family gave the name of his farm in Glengarry to his plantation in his adopted country. They also engaged two clergymen, who preach and instruct them in Gaelic, which is the only language in use in their community. * An honourable trait of their native character was exhibited last war. They turned out in such numbers, that, along with some other emigrants, and the sons of emigrants, they formed a numerous, brave, and highly effective corps, called the Glengarry Fencibles, of whose good conduct, in Canada, the London Gazette affords satisfactory evidence.

In 1794, Sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs was authorized to raise a regiment which was called the Caithness Legion. This legion was removed to Ireland, and stationed there till reduced at the peace in 1802.

In 1794, also, Colonel William Robertson of Lude was appointed to the command of a regiment, which he denominated the Perthshire Highlanders. This was rather a misnomer, as the number of Perthshire Highlanders, or Highlanders of any county, was very limited. The regiment was early reduced.

The Ross-shire Fencibles were embodied in 1796, and Major Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald appointed to the command. This was a small corps, but the deficiency of numbers was in one respect supplied by exemplary character, and physical capability. No man was punished, none

* Ignorance of the English language on the part of these emigrants is perhaps the cause which has induced several travellers who visited the settlement to describe the people as uncultivated. As Highlanders are generally allowed to have a degree of native politeness, probably these gentlemen would have found that the Glengarry men had not yet lost it, could they have accosted them in their native language.

died, and they were reduced as strong and efficient as when embodied.

Colonel Archibald Macneil of Colonsay was appointed Colonel of a third battalion of Argyle Fencibles raised in 1799. The name of Argyle did not properly apply to this corps, as the number of Argyleshire men was small. Their service being extended to all parts of Europe, the regiment was in 1800 removed to Gibraltar, to relieve the troops which were to embark from the garrison under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and at the peace of 1801 was ordered home and reduced.

The Ross and Cromarty Rangers were raised and placed under the command of Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, the younger of Scatwell, in June 1799. The service of this regiment was also to extend to any part of Europe, but it remained in Scotland till its reduction at the peace. *

* In the year 1801 this regiment was quartered in Aberdeen. On the evening of the King's birth-day, a crowd of people, principally young men, collected in the main street, in which was the guard-house. The young men commenced their usual pastimes of throwing squibs, crackers, dead cats, &c.; but their sport becoming too violent, the soldiers on guard were ordered out in front of the guard-house, but only to stand under arms, and to be ready should any serious disturbance take place. A smart attack was immediately made upon them, and, after standing some time, they were obliged to take shelter in the guard-house. The mob, continuing their assaults, broke the windows, and endeavoured to force the guard-house door, when a report was sent to the barracks that the men on guard were overpowered, and in danger of being murdered. A number of the soldiers flew to their arms, and ran from the barracks to support their comrades. When they reached the street, and saw the mob still continuing their attack on the guard-house, they halted. At this time some of the officers joined them. In a few minutes, the word was given to fire, which was unfortunately heard and obeyed by the soldiers, when two people were killed, and several wounded. The Magistrates had not arrived; the word to fire was not given by the officers; nor was it even ascertained from whom it had proceeded. The circumstance occasioned a great sensation in Aberdeen. An investigation followed, but nothing decisive was ascertained. Two officers, two serjeants, and some privates, were, however, ordered up to Edinburgh, tried before

The year 1799 was rather remarkable for the number of regiments raised in the north of Scotland. In the month of June, John Macleod of Colbecks was promoted to the command of a regiment, which he denominated the Princess Charlotte of Wales's, or Macleod Fencibles. This corps was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-General Leith Hay, afterwards marched, under the command of Colonel Macleod, to Portpatrick, and thence embarked for Ireland, where it remained till 1802, when it returned to England, and was reduced at Tynemouth Barracks in the month of June.

Colonel Macleod's was the last Fencible regiment raised in the Highlands. This species of force has been much approved of by some, and as much depreciated by others. The limited nature of their service was undoubtedly a disadvantage; but perhaps this limitation, and the certainty of not being exposed to dangers from climate, the sea, or the enemy, induced many to enlist who would have hesitated if these risks had been the immediate consequences of their becoming soldiers. But as many brave men, who, when once engaged, show no reluctance to extend their service wherever it may be required, may, in the first instance, from the persuasion of friends, and other causes, manifest a very opposite spirit; in this view, and to lead them on by degrees to encounter the most arduous duties of the profession, such preparatory and apparently easy service may have had its advantages. Indeed, the Highland Fencibles furnished a most excellent and seasonable nursery of men for regiments of the line. The 72d regiment was in a few months filled up from 200 to 800 men by Fencible volunteers. Upwards of 350 men volunteered from the Clan Alpines into different regiments; 200 men of the Caithness Highlanders joined the 79th and 92d; and so of the others. Still it was a matter of regret,

the Court of Justiciary, and acquitted. The person who called out to fire was never discovered. This unfortunate affair originated in the usual frolics of the day, without any previous ill will or bad spirit against the troops, although they were latterly so violently assailed.

that, during the most trying period of the war, so many efficient corps were so fettered by their engagements, that they could not be employed on those important occasions where they would have formed a very seasonable aid, and where their military qualities could have been exerted to the utmost advantage. To officers, also, the Fencible, like the Militia regiments, presented both advantages and disadvantages. To many young men those corps formed a kind of stepping-stone to get into the regular army. Others, again, who passed too many years in them, gained no rank, spent their daily pay, and acquired little professional knowledge, beyond the parade and drill exercise; and when, at the end of six, eight, or ten years, they thought of looking out for some permanent means of subsistence, or some commission that might secure them rank and a future provision, they found themselves as far from the mark as the first day they entered the service.

Several friends, for whose opinion I have a high respect, wished to dissuade me from noticing the Fencible Corps, as nothing interesting could be said on a service confined to Britain. But it appeared to me, that an inquiry, whether corps of limited and temporary service supported the same character as that which had been acquired by old regiments of the line, so far, at least, as the more peaceable duties of the Fencible regiments, was necessary to the unity and completion of my general plan. The short notices given of the general conduct of those corps have, it is presumed, fully proved that the more marked traits of character did not rest on any accidental cause, but on a steady and permanent principle, and although their service was less important, so far as regarded opposing a foreign enemy, yet during the troubles in Ireland, no duty could have been better performed. Nor, indeed, was there any service of greater importance, or executed with more prudence and proper feeling, than that which was entrusted to them; and it was fully acknowledged, that tranquillity and obedience to the laws prevailed in many disturbed districts, immediately after the Sutherland,

Caithness, and other Fencible corps came upon the station. The spirit of revenge and fierce animosity to the Government were softened by the mild and conciliatory conduct of these men towards the deluded peasantry. This, in a very considerable degree, contributed to the restoration of the peace and order which ensued. When troops are stationed in an enemy's country, or are ordered to keep down internal insurrection, the influence which their conduct exerts on those whom they are to control is, in general, conspicuous. If troops are insolent, oppressive, or cruel, the hatred and opposition of those who were inimical before are increased and confirmed; and they may become what an eminent commander said of a part of the troops in Ireland, at that period, "more dangerous to their friends than to their enemies." If, on the contrary, the soldiers are careful of giving offence; if they are what has been said of the Highland soldiers, "lambs in the house," "children of the family," they make friends of their former enemies, and their duty becomes easy, requiring only the usual military routine.

# VOLUNTEERS

AND

# LOCAL MILITIA.

HAVING thus endeavoured to place in one view that portion of the military array of the Highlands whose line of duty called them abroad, as well as those whose service was limited to a certain distance from their native country, I have much pleasure in noticing those who, by their avocations, were confined to a certain spot, but who, with patriotic spirit, formed themselves into an excellent species of internal defence in the corps of volunteers and local militia. In the Highlands this force is the less necessary on account of the well regulated, peaceable habits of the people, and their contentment with their lot; at the same time that it is more difficult to be organized, in a rugged country, thinly sprinkled with inhabitants, who live at a distance from the places of rendezvous, while the expence and loss of time is greater than that experienced in the populous, level districts of the Lowlands. Yet, in the mountains, the volunteer corps were numerous, and the ranks well filled. Previous to the peace of 1801, the volunteers in the Highlands and Islands exceeded 11,500 men. When the war recommenced, 13,323 volunteers were embodied, and placed in corps, as

stated below. * In this numeration, only the native Highlanders are included, as, for example, in the case of the Dunkeld and Stormont regiment only 190 men are stated, although the corps was upwards of 700 strong. The same allowance has been made with regard to the Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and other corps on the borders, where the population on each side was united in one regiment.

In the year 1811 the Local Militia were instituted. Although military duty was seldom required of the High-

* VOLUNTEERS.

| Regiments. | Commanding Officers. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Argyle | Lord John Campbell | 1,272 |
| Campbelltown Company | Dun. Stewart | 63 |
| Argyle, 2d Regiment | Alexander Maclean of Coll, with Capts. Macdougall and Macneil's Companies | 756 |
| Bute | J. Moore | 380 |
| Caithness, 1st and 2d Battalions | Sir John Sinclair | 742 |
| Do. 3d Battalion | Sir Benjamin Dunbar | 530 |
| Cromarty | | 320 |
| Luss and Rowe Companies | | 178 |
| Bonhill and Kilmaronock | | 83 |
| Elginshire | | 80 |
| Inverness, 1st Regiment | Culloden | 619 |
| 2d do. | Lovat | 447 |
| 3d do. | Glengarry | 415 |
| 4th do. | Lochiel | 407 |
| Badenoch & Strathspey, 7 Comps. | | 590 |
| Isle of Skye, 1st Regiment | J. Macleod of Rasay | 507 |
| 2d do. | Alexander Macdonald of Lyndale | 500 |
| Harris 3d do. | | 346 |
| Island of Rum Company | | 100 |
| Nairn, 200; Moray, 150; Banff, 80; Aberdeen, 120 | | 550 |
| Athole | Archibald Butter of Pitlochry | 372 |
| Breadalbane | Earl of Breadalbane | 396 |
| Blairgowrie | A. Macpherson | 152 |
| Dunkeld and Stormont | Sir Alex. M. Mackenzie of Delvine | 190 |
| Monteith | Sir J. M. Murray | 396 |
| Strathearn | Sir P. Murray of Ochtertyre | 220 |
| East Ross | D. Macleod of Geanies | 640 |
| West do. | Sir G. Stewart Mackenzie of Coul | 440 |
| Black Isle | Sir Hector Mackenzie of Gairloch | 320 |
| Island of Lewes | | 160 |
| Lochalsh Company | | 60 |
| Sutherland | David Campbell of Combie | 1,092 |
| | | 13,323 |

land volunteers and local militia,* we may include them in the military array of the Highlands. The number being 34,784 men, it formed an important addition to the force already enumerated. It was important in another respect; in accustoming the youth of the country to the use of arms, and preserving a warlike feeling which had been greatly cooled and broken by the acts for depriving the people of their arms and garb, and by other irritating causes. But so numerous a body as thirty-four thousand men from among so limited a population, could not fail to infuse a proper spirit, not only among the youthful and the active, but among all classes.

The Fencible regiments, also, contributed in a very eminent degree to promote and invigorate this spirit. The corps of this description mentioned in the foregoing pages are those considered as exclusively Highland. There were, however, other regiments raised in the North, not nominally

LOCAL MILITIA.

| Regiments. | Commanding Officers. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Inverary Regiment | Duke of Argyle | 732 |
| Oban do. | Sir John Campbell | 738 |
| Third Battalion | Hugh Maclean, younger of Coll | 714 |
| Bute | | 366 |
| Caithness | Earl of Caithness | 726 |
| Dumbartonshire | | 240 |
| 1st Regiment Inverness | | 800 |
| 2d do. Fort-William Battalion | | 644 |
| 3d do. Isle of Skye | | 500 |
| 4th do. Arisaig | | 360 |
| Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, & Nairn | | 230 |
| Athole and Breadalbane Regiment | Robert Stewart of Fincastle | 1,276 |
| Monteith and Strathearn | | 389 |
| Wester Ross | D. Munro of Culcairn | 810 |
| Easter Ross | D. Macleod | 906 |
| Sutherland | Earl Gower | 600 |
| | | 10,031 |

* The Volunteers of Sutherland, a county conspicuous for willing and excellent soldiers, showed in 1804 that the name of Volunteer was well applied to them; for the regiment, 1,000 strong, volunteered a march of 300 miles to the south of Scotland, and back to their native county, in all 600 miles. They marched to Linlithgow, and, after being disciplined there for some time, returned to Sutherland.

Highland, but in whose ranks were a number of men from the mountains; as, for instance, Lord Elgin's regiment, which, as I have already mentioned, had about 300 Highlanders, wearing the Highland garb of the bonnet and truis; the Aberdeenshire, Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Sir James Leith; the North Lowland, Colonel Balfour; and the Banffshire, Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Andrew Hay. There were also the Tay, Angus, and other Fencible corps, bordering on the Highlands. We thus find, that, independently of Colonel Macneil's Argyle, Colonel Robertson's Perthshire, both having very few Highlanders, and the Ross-shire Fencibles, which are not included, as the number was small, the whole corps embodied in the Highlands amounted to twenty-six battalions of Fencible infantry, which, in addition to the fifty battalions of the line, three of reserve, and seven of militia, formed altogether a force of eighty-six Highland regiments embodied in the course of the four wars in which Britain has been engaged since the Black Watch was regimented in the year 1740. From a first glance, the allowing 1,000 men to each of the eighty-six regiments would appear to come near the truth; but, on a closer view, it will be found to be far short of the actual number. Leaving out of our estimate the men who have, at different times in the course of seventy-five years, from 1740 to the conclusion of the late war in 1815, joined the 42d, * several of the regiments had, in the course of their service, treble or quadruple their original number in their ranks. Thus the 71st, 72d, 73d, for the thirty-one years they were Highland, (from their formation in 1778 to 1809,) had at least 3,000 Highlanders each; and other regiments had numbers in proportion to the length and nature of their service, either in tropical or temperate climates. But, without coming to a close calculation, we have sufficient evidence to show that the eighty-six battalions, including their numerous reinforce-

* See Appendix, page xcvi.

ments, contained a very large and efficient body of men, who have contributed, in a very eminent degree, to preserve Scotland in the recollection of Europe as once an independent, and still a brave nation. *

It is only necessary to mention farther, that thirty regiments of the Line † and Fencibles, and three regiments of Militia, were raised during the first six years of the last war, from 1793 to 1799; and, from 1800 to 1804, both years inclusive, seven battalions of the Line, four of Militia, and three of the Army of Reserve, were raised in the Highlands; in all, forty battalions of the Line, Fencibles, and Army of Reserve, seven regiments of Militia, and 34,785 Local Militia and Volunteers, during the late war.

It is fortunate for the poor Highlanders that so large a portion of their number served their country, as the publicity and notoriety of their military service offer the best answer to the statements published by different authors, whose opinions might lead the public to believe that their military character is gone, and that they are useless as cultivators and shepherds, and averse to become soldiers. It appears, therefore, highly necessary that the real facts should be known; that the Government of this country should have a full knowledge of the true character of those they govern; and that the inhabitants of one part of the kingdom should

* See Appendix, page lxxxviii.

† The second battalions of the 71st, 72d, 73d, and 74th, are not included, although they were raised within this period, and had a great many Highlanders in each; but the garb having been changed, they ceased to come within the line I had found it necessary to draw. The number of Highlanders in these corps, and also in the Royal Scots and many other regiments of the Line, as well as the considerable number in the Elgin and other Fencibles, will in some measure counterbalance the number of Lowlanders in the Highland regiments. Were this a correct supposition, (and there are good grounds for it,) the number of Highlanders who have served in the late war in all regiments would greatly exceed the number of men not Highlanders in the ranks of the forty-seven battalions. Of the twenty-nine battalions raised in the two former wars, nine-tenths of the men were Highlanders. In twenty-one battalions the whole were Highlanders.

be made acquainted with the dispositions and civil and military habits of the other part. This is but justice to a people who may suffer, without pity or sympathy, if their character and principles were taken from the views given by Mr Pinkerton and several authors, whose statements have made a most unfavourable impression on the public mind; not generally, but to such an extent as to afford a justification of the acts of oppression and cruelty of which the Highlanders complain, and which are so rapidly generating a *spirit of hatred and revenge against the higher orders of society.* But, if there is any truth in the character drawn of this race, revenge, and all the worst passions of our nature, might be expected from "mere radical savages," as Mr Pinkerton describes the Celts. "Look at them," says he, "for they are just as they were, incapable of industry or cultivation, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, and enemies to truth.' If a Highlander offers to state what he believes to be true, as I have presumed to do, then "to say that a writer is a Celt, is to say that he is a stranger to truth, morality, and modesty." Another delineator of Highland manners and capability says, "They are so deficient in intelligence, so slow, *heavy-footed*, and inert in their movements, that one Lowland shepherd will do more work than five indolent Highlanders." Then, being so unqualified for the duties of a pastoral life, if they are placed in fishing stations on the coast, we are assured that "a decided preference will be given to strangers." Thus, while they are noted for being enemies to truth, worthless as cultivators, as fishers, and as shepherds, "they are," says a writer of name, "everywhere notedly averse to the army, and I do not say, *without abundant information*, that it probably would be impossible to raise a single recruit by beat of drum, or a single volunteer for the navy, throughout the Islands. It is doubtful if the whole Islands possess at this moment one hundred men in both services. Skye, with a population of 16,000, *has not a man in the army.*" And

again, with regard to the state of religion in the Highlands, we are told by one authority, that they are "Christians only by name;" while, from this deplorable state, it was to be expected that another authority should meet with the "basest vices" in the country of a people who are enemies to truth, and "savage heathens," as they have also been called, and where many "*know not the name of Jesus.*"

Having no practical experience of farming, the management of sheep, or of fisheries, it is necessary for me to speak with caution, when giving an opinion on the capabilities of the Highlanders for these occupations; but, as a soldier, I beg leave to refer to the statement in page 424, as an answer to the allegation, founded on abundant information, that "Skye, with a population of 16,000, has not a man in the army."

As I served with many a good and brave soldier from that island, and as I have observed a strong sense of religion, a clearer knowledge of their faith, and more general intelligence than is usually found among the common people of any country; with much moral feeling, industry, and capability, in the Highlands; I may be allowed to doubt the accuracy of statements which militate against the evidence of my own senses, and what I have seen with my own eyes; I may also be allowed to express pity and sympathy for an unfortunate race who suffer so severely, and who are in the progress of suffering still more, from these prejudiced and distorted views of their character. *But they will not suffer alone;* if the modern system is pursued, if all the kindness and encouragement of landlords are to be bestowed on men of capital alone; if they are to be nourished and protected, and *the people rejected and despised;* if two *castes*, capitalists and *cottars*, are formed without common interests, feelings, or sympathy; if Government and the proprietors of the soil give credit to the statements laid before the public, and withdraw their countenance from the Highlanders as a people totally worthless;—the rich farmers will learn to look with contempt on the poor ejected High-

landers, and who, in their turn, will attribute their depression and poverty to the avarice of the landlords, and to the encroachments of the great monopolists of the soil: And thus, as I have more than once noticed, mutual jealousies and hatred will be generated; the moral ties which intimately connected the landlord, tacksman, and small tenant dissolved; and the Highlands of Scotland may have to witness the painful contrast of a *virtuous, contented, with a demoralized and disaffected population;* and this, too, in an enlightened age, when the influence which a kind regard to the welfare of the lower orders exerts upon their character ought to be understood. In that country the cordial intimacy which subsisted between the higher and lower orders had the best influence on the feelings and habits of the latter, and it must appear remarkable, that, in times when so much is said and written on the liberty and independence of the people, we should find them too often treated with a cold, haughty, distant reserve, totally unknown during the slavish dependence of the clans, as their former state is generally called.

I have already noticed the opinion of a learned and able author on the warlike spirit of the Highland islanders, who are stated to be so deficient in this respect, that last war they were defended by the manufacturers of the Lowlands, as they would not take up arms themselves. In prosecution of the subject, it is farther stated, that, "If recruits should be raised in the islands, they would be found in Islay, *not in Skye or in the Long Island.*" * Now, in twenty-five years of regimental duty, besides six years on half-pay, during which I have had full knowledge of the circumstances in question, my experience leads me to an opposite conclusion, with regard to the facility and manner in which soldiers are obtained in the southern islands; for, during twenty-one years I belonged to the 42d and 78th, we had not twenty men from Islay in these regiments, while among the best and most exemplary soldiers were those from the northern

* Dr Macculloch's Western Isles.

isles: and these were so numerous, that, as I have already noticed, 732 men enlisted for the 78th regiment from *one landlord's estate in the Long Island.*

In a Report of the county of Ross we find the same want of spirit alleged to exist in that part of the country. "The Highlanders are trumpeted forth as our best resource for soldiers, although it is well known that they are notoriously averse to the army. The second battalion of the 78th, commanded by my lamented brother-in-law Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, was raised in a very short time, yet this was not owing by *any means to the spirit of the people.* Indeed, some bands of young Highlanders, who went to join the regiment, declared, rather indiscreetly, perhaps, that they had enlisted merely to save their parents from being turned out of their farms."* The best and purest actions may thus be overlooked or perverted. If these youths were not inclined to a military life, the greater was the sacrifice to filial piety, in order to save their parents from being ejected from their farms. But as, no doubt, *the terms of their agreement were fulfilled,* and their parents permitted to remain undisturbed, there could be no indiscretion in telling them.

The same Report farther observes, that "there were many fine fellows, however, who enlisted out of pure regard for some of their officers, and their connections, but their number was small when compared with the total amount."

I cannot well ascertain the motives which induced these young men to enlist, though no man had a better opportunity, as I was a Major in the regiment, and had added 419 men to its strength by recruits and militia volunteers. It is probable, that, when the Reporter estimated the warlike spirit of his countrymen so low, it did not occur to him that the chiefs and chieftains of his own clan and name had, in the course of a few years, raised six battalions, of which about 11,500 men, including the different reinforcements, were Highlanders; and, although Lord Macleod, the Co-

* Report to the Board of Agriculture, by Sir G. Stewart Mackenzie, Bart.

lonel of two of these battalions, had no lands or farms with which young men might be encouraged to enlist from the hope of a future settlement for themselves, or compelled by threats of removing their parents, each battalion (the number of Highlanders in both being 1,750) was completed in a few weeks.* In my battalion, also, 240 men, as good soldiers as ever left the Highlands, enlisted in a few days from the Island of Lewes, one portion of Lord Seaforth's estate on *the Long Island.* If these men, and the many thousand Highlanders who enlisted in the Mackenzie regiments, were notoriously averse to a military life, their conduct displayed an inconsistency not easily accounted for by any common cause. If the young men who engaged with me had the same feelings, they so completely concealed their aversion, that I could discover nothing but the best spirit and desire to learn their duty. The recruits from the country enlisted sometimes five and six together, when I only gave them *twelve guineas,* whereas they would, *the same day, have received twenty or twenty-four guineas* as substitutes for the Perthshire and other militia regiments. Did this preference of a distant, dangerous, but honourable service, for which the regiment was destined when completed, evince any want of spirit? On the contrary, was it not more like the pure spirit of brave soldiers, regardless of danger, and exhibiting a generous desire to serve their King in the most effectual manner, and to connect themselves with the fortunes of an individual from whom they expected friendship and protection, in return for the fidelity, obedience, and respect they showed him? If this was not a proper spirit, I know not what name to give it. I am sure their conduct on all occasions merited as honourable a name, and as much distinction as a soldier can well obtain, and fully proved the nature of the feelings and principles with which they entered the service.

When the information received by Sir George Mackenzie, a Highlander by birth, and proprietor of an extensive inhe-

* See article Macleod's Highlanders.

ritance, once occupied by a numerous tenantry, has led him to form the opinion he has given of his countrymen; and when a gentleman eminent in science and political economy, like Dr Macculloch, who had made the Highlands one of his principal studies, and had lived on the main land and islands for months, nay, whole seasons; undoubtedly those whom he consulted must have concealed from him the truth; and hence the opinions he has formed with regard to the men of Skye, and the warlike disposition of the men of Islay, which are at total variance with the personal experience of all military men whom I have ever heard speak on the subject.

When gentlemen of such qualifications are kept in ignorance of circumstances of public notoriety, can correct reports be expected from land agents and others, who are often ignorant of the country, the people, and their language, and who often run over a district in one day, and speak to none except those appointed to meet them? Neither can the best information of the state of morals and religion be expected from itinerant preachers and missionaries, such as are often employed (or rather who sometimes take up the task of their own accord) to instruct the Highlanders. They are frequently very ignorant persons, and in an especial manner ignorant of human nature, who avoid all communication with gentlemen and well informed individuals, associating only with the weak and ignorant; and, as their employments depend on the alleged want of religion and morals in the Highlands, their reports would deservedly pass unnoticed, were they not sometimes countenanced by respectable persons, who know not, perhaps, from their own experience, the correctness of what appears under their sanction, and from whom it might be expected that the character of a whole people would not be vilified and exhibited to the world as an unchristian race, degraded by the basest vices, without sufficient cause, and on the best foundation. That in any part of Scotland there are people who *know not*

*the name of Jesus*, is a strong assertion, and ought not to be hazarded, far less sanctioned, without full proof. Without presuming to offer my own personal experience in opposition to these statements, extensively circulated, to the great prejudice of a people who have not the means of defending themselves, I now appeal to all liberal and intelligent Highlanders, if they ever met with even *one instance in their native country, where the name of Jesus was unknown, or met with the basest vices, and with savage heathens.* Such reports, unless founded on indisputable facts, injure the cause they are intended to support, especially where the general conduct of a people offers so ready and full a contradiction. So far as regards the Highlands, they ought to be received with extreme caution. It is difficult to conceive, indeed many may think it impossible to believe, that a people who have enabled me to bring forward so many honourable traits in their native character, and to produce instances equally honourable as soldiers, can be *without religion, without military spirit, enemies to truth, and degraded by the basest vices.*

Oppression is unjustifiable on any grounds, but if exercised on a worthless and unprincipled race, the indignation naturally excited is softened. * If the Highland character

* The black Carribbs of the Island of St Vincent were a Negro-African race, and had committed great excesses during the insurrections in the years 1795 and 1796. Indeed, the persons and properties of the white inhabitants were in constant risk of murder and conflagration from their black neighbours; and when they were rooted out, and banished to the Island of Ratan, it was considered a measure of indispensable necessity, and met with general approval. The yellow Carribbs, the aborigines of the West Indies, are, on the contrary, of a mild disposition, remarkable for their regular and proper conduct. Had they been extirpated, something of the same indignation would have been expressed as has ever been in all Christian countries against the horrible cruelties of the Spaniards after the discovery of those islands. But in St Vincent the yellow Carribbs were cherished and protected as their character and exemplary habits deserved, and the few of them who remain are now in possession (as I hope they will always be) of the woods and forests of their forefathers. It is unnecessary to follow up the illustration.

were to be taken from recent statements, any oppression, even to extirpation, would meet with little reprehension, and excite no pity for the victims. I have endeavoured to place the character of my countrymen in what appears to me its true light, and I regret, for their sake, that the task has not fallen into abler hands. It fell into mine, as I have noticed in the preface, by an accidental request from a professional friend; and I hope this attempt will at least show, that the subject is worthy of some notice; and, if followed up by a man of talent and research, it will be found that I have only given a sketch of a great mass of matter of no common interest. The military part offers an extensive field, and much, capable of exciting a strong and lively interest, remains yet untold of the past, and particularly of the present state of the Highlands: And I cannot conclude these Sketches better than by noticing the obligations which the public in general, and Scotland in particular, owe to the author of those exquisite pictures of life called the Scotch Novels; from the great moral effect produced on the mind, by exhibiting the pleasing, the homely customs of our common nature, as they appear in his specimens of the Lowland peasantry, and of all the lower orders of his countrymen. Many of the highest qualities of the human mind, as he has shown, are called forth by the very privations and difficulties to which their humble lot subjects them: fortitude, kept in continual exercise by having always much to endure,—patience, perfected in much suffering,—gratitude, more lively as obligation is more deeply felt,—fidelity, very frequent, and more meritorious as resisting strong temptations,—acuteness and sagacity, sharpened by frequent exigencies,—and, above all, that humble and earnest piety which forms the basis of their virtues and the solace of their hardships. It is melancholy to observe, that, when so many have taste enough to be, or fashion enough to seem, delighted with these fine pictures of rustic worth, so few should seek out and cherish the originals from which they were drawn. Let us hope that this feeling,

once awakened, and seconded by sound reason, will produce in the Highlands a revival of that kindness and protection which preserved the attachment and confidence of the peasantry, and prevent the demoralization, and the dissolution of those mutual feelings between the different orders of society which appear in so threatening an aspect as to afford some plea for the extirpation of a brave, loyal, and estimable race, of whom, if once banished, we may truly say, "*that we shall not look upon their like again.*"

What they have been, and what they may still be, I have endeavoured to show; and while I have presumed to differ in opinion with many in exhibiting the character and capability of this race, I trust I have not done so without producing some well grounded facts in support of opinions, which militate against those of men conspicuous for talents and acquirements; and to whose judgment I would readily yield, were I not sensible that I speak with more knowledge of facts, originating principally from the circumstances of my being born and having passed part of my life in the same country, speaking the language, and being of the same profession with many of the inhabitants.

Having made use of these combined means of information, when my profession offered no employment, I shall consider my spare time and humble talents as having been well occupied, if I have succeeded in affording some idea of the character, capability, and importance to the state, of an interesting part of the population, *when treated with justice and kindness.* I also feel gratified in having been able to exhibit in one view the military force embodied in the barren and unproductive mountains of Scotland; and how far these eighty-six battalions, with their numerous reinforcements, have, by their numbers and physical force,—by their courage, and by their moral character,—contributed to uphold the honour, and to maintain what has been often threatened, the very existence of this country as an independent state.

# APPENDIX.

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## A. Page 14. Vol. I.

The country traditions are filled with anecdotes of the hunting expeditions of the Alpine kings. From these traditional authorities, the names of many remarkable objects in the neighbourhood of their ancient residence, particularly in Glenroy and Glenspean, are derived. Ossian, and the heroes celebrated in song, seem in a manner overlooked in the recollection of the later warriors and Nimrods. Since strangers and men of science have traversed these long-deserted regions, an irreconcileable feud of opinions has arisen between the Geologists and the Highlanders, regarding an uncommon conformation in Glenroy, a glen in Lochaber, remarkable for the height and perpendicularity of its sides, particularly of one of them. On the north side, at a considerable elevation above the stream, which flows along the bottom of the glen, there is a flat, or terrace, about seventy feet broad, having the appearance of a road formed on the side of the mountain, and running along, on a perfect level, to the extremity of the glen. Five hundred feet above this, there is another of these terraces, and still higher a third, all parallel, and of similar form. In English they are called Parallel Roads: the inhabitants know them by the name of the King's Hunting Roads. Geologists say that the glen was once full of water, up to the level of the highest parallel, which must have been formed by the action of the waters of this lake on the side of the hill. By some violence, however, an opening was made in the lower end of the glen, which confined the water, in consequence of which it immediately fell as low as the second parallel, and formed it in the same manner as the first. Another opening of the same kind brought down the surface of the water to the third parallel, when, at length, that which confined the water giving way entirely, it subsided to the bottom of the glen, where it now runs, in a rapid stream, without obstruction. To this opinion the Highlanders object, that it is not probable that water, after the first declension, would remain so perfectly stationary as to form a second parallel of the same breadth and formation as the first, or that the second declension would be so regular in time, and the water so equal in its action, as to form a third terrace of form and breadth perfectly similar to the two others; that the glen is too narrow to allow the waves to act with sufficient force to form these broad levels; that, in the centre of the glen, which is narrow, the levels are the broadest and most perfect, whereas, on the upper end, which opens to a wide extent, allowing a large space for the

wind to act with a superior force, the levels are contracted and less perfect; that on one side of the glen these terraces are broad, and of perfectly regular formation, while, on the other, they are narrow, and not so well formed; and that, unless the wind blew always from the same quarter, waves would not roll with more force to one side of a piece of water than to another. In Glenspean, which is in the immediate neighbourhood, and in which similar appearances present themselves, the hills recede from each other, leaving a wide expanse, on the sides of which, if the hollow had been filled with water, the waves would have acted with considerable force, and yet these roads, or terraces, are by no means so well formed, continuous, and distinct, as in Glenroy. The Highlanders also urge the impossibility of water having ever been confined in Glenspean, without an improbable convulsion of nature, the lower end being of great width, and open to the ocean. After stating these reasons, they triumphantly conclude by a query, Why other glens and straths in the Highlands do not exhibit natural appearances similar to those in the vicinity of the ancient residence of their kings? Their own account, which they believe as firmly as they do their creed, is, that these roads were made for the hunting of the kings when at Inverlochay; that they were palisadoed on each side; and, that the game was driven through, affording the Royal Hunters time to destroy numbers before they could get to the end. As a confirmation of this account, they quote the names of the circumjacent places, which all bear an analogy to these huntings.

To these opinions, so opposite and difficult to reconcile, it is probable that each party will adhere.

## B. Page 16.

Tradition states, that, in honour of this ancient alliance, and in compliment to the Lilies of France, one of the succeeding Kings of Scotland surmounted the lion on his arms with the double tressure, which has, ever since, continued to be the arms of Scotland. In consequence of a requisition from Charles VII. of France, founded, as it is said, on this treaty, the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, in the year 1419, sent his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, with 7,000 men, to assist him in his wars with the English. The Earl of Buchan, as a reward for the eminent service rendered by his army, was made Constable of France, which is the only instance of a foreigner receiving this distinction.

The late Lord Hailes was so accurate, that, on one occasion, it is said, he proposed to reject a law-paper, because the word *justice* was improperly spelt, the last letter having been omitted. This severity of criticism he carried through all his labours. In his remarks on the History of Scotland, he doubts the reality of this alliance, because it has been variously related by authors, and particularly by Hector Boece, a Scottish historian, (of a character very different from that of the honourable and learned judge,) who indulges himself in detailing many improbable and fabulous events. Though doubts may reasonably be entertained concerning the authenticity of this alliance, it is evident that our ancient historians and chroniclers, when they thought it probable that such a treaty had really existed, must have believed that the Alpine kings had numerous and warlike subjects; and hence we may conjecture, that the country was able to support a numerous population, a capability which has been denied by modern economists. With regard to the credit due to traditions, it may be observed, that, in the absence of written documents, they may be so unvarying in their tenor, and so confirmed by collateral circumstances, as

to be entitled to a considerable degree of importance. Traditions thus preserved and confirmed, are certainly preferable to the mere conjectures and hypotheses of modern authors, which are not founded on any authentic documents, but on the absence of them, and which often vary with the peculiar opinions and preconceived notions of each individual speculatist. The want of written proof may be, in many cases, a good legal objection; but are we warranted, merely from the absence of proof to the contrary, in refusing all credit to what has, for ages, been handed down as the firm belief of our ancestors? These observations I have thought it necessary to offer, as I shall have occasion to refer to many traditions, for which I have neither written nor printed proofs, but which I have every reason to believe are founded on facts, although there may be some little difference in the relation, not more, perhaps, than we have met with in the accounts given of the same work by the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.

There is hardly any point of history, far less tradition, in which all men are agreed. Recent as the events are, we have contradictory accounts of the Peninsular campaigns, and of the battle of Waterloo. When, therefore, we every day hear discordant reports and versions of events that occurred within our own memory, can it be matter of surprise that the affairs of remote ages should be variously related, and can it furnish good grounds for rejecting the whole as fabulous? Many parts of our own national history, which we receive with implicit credence, will not perhaps bear that strictness of criticism which calls for present and written proofs. In the same manner, therefore, as I believe that there was a great and overwhelming victory gained at Waterloo, notwithstanding the discrepancy of minute details, so I am likewise willing to give credit to many parts of our traditional story, when these are not opposed by the principles of reason, and by well-authenticated and contradictory facts.

Whatever may be thought of the treaty with Charlemagne, the connection between France and Scotland must be allowed to be of high antiquity, when it is noticed as the "Ancient League," as far back as the reigns of Baliol, and Bruce, and Robert, the first of the Stewarts, upwards of five hundred years ago. Now, as it is not disputed, that an amicable communication subsisted thus early, those who disbelieve the alliance between Charlemagne and Achaius ought to fix the period of the commencement of that friendly intercourse, which continued uninterrupted till the Kings of Scotland removed to England, and united the rival kingdoms under one Crown. It should also be stated how far back the League must have extended, to have been entitled to the term of "Ancient" bestowed on it in the days of John Baliol, who was declared King of Scotland in the year 1292.

## C. Page 25.

The memorial begins with Argyleshire, "the country of the Campbells."

"*Campbells.*—In Gaelic they are called Clan Guin, or O Duine. The Duke of Argyle is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands Macaillain Mor. On his own property, and on his kinsmen s lands, he can raise above 3,000 men; the Earl of Breadalbane, more than 1,000; and the Barons of the names of Campbell, Ardkinglass, Auchenbreck, Lochnell, Inneraw, and others, 1,000, so that this clan could bring into the field above 5,000 men, besides those barons and gentlemen of the name in Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perthshire, and the Laird of Calder in Nairn. They are at present the richest and most numerous clan in Scotland; their countries and bounds most extensive; their superiorities, jurisdictions, and other de-

pendencies, by far the greatest in the kingdom, which makes the family of the greatest importance in North Britain, and has been so since the decline of the Douglasses, the total fall of the Cummins, the extinction of the Earl of Ross's family, and of the Macdonalds of the Isles.

"*Maclean.*—In Gaelic called Clan Lein. Sir Hector Maclean of Douart is their Chief. He is called in the Highlands Macil-Lein. This was a very potent clan about 200 years ago, and could have raised 800 men; but now that the Campbells are possessed of their chief's estate, they will hardly make 500, and even many of that number must be brought out of the Duke of Argyle's estate.

"*Maclachlan.*—In Gaelic called Clan Lauchlin. The Laird of Maclachlan is their Chief. He can raise 300 men.

"*Stewart of Appin.*—The Laird of Appin is their Chieftain. He holds his lands of the Crown, and can raise 300 followers.

"*Macdougall of Lorn.*—In Gaelic called Clanvickuil. Their Chief is the Laird of Macdougall. He is called in the Highlands Mackuil Lawrin. This was a more potent family of old, but is now much diminished by the Campbells; they can still (I believe) bring out 200 men.

"*Macdonalds of Slate.*—Proceeding northward by the coast and Isles, we come to the Macdonalds. Sir Alexander Macdonald is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac Connel nan Eilan, simply by way of pre-eminence; he has a very large estate which he holds of the Crown. It lies in the Isles of Skye and Uist. He can bring out 700 men.

"*Macdonald of Clanronald.*—In Gaelic this chieftain is called Mack vic allain, and in English Captain of Clanronald. He has a very handsome estate, holding most of it from the Crown. It lies in Moidart and Arisaig on the Continent, and in the Isles of Uist, Benbecula, and Rum. He can bring out 700 men.

"*Macdonell of Glengarry.*—The Laird of Glengarry is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Allistair. He has a good estate, which he holds of the Crown. It lies in Glengarry and Knoidart. He can bring out 500 men.

"*Macdonald of Keppach.*—Keppach is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Raonuil. He is not proprietor of one ridge of land, but himself, kindred, and followers, are only tacksman and tenants, holding the most of their possessions from the Laird of Mackintosh, and the rest from the Duke of Gordon, all being in Lochaber. He can raise and bring out 300 followers.

"*Macdonald of Glenco.*—The Laird of Glenco is their Chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac-vic-Ian. He holds his lands of Stewart of Appin, and can raise 150 men.

"These five chieftains of the Macdonalds all claim a lineal descent from Alexander Macdonald Earl of Ross, successor and representative of the Macdonalds of the Isles; but none of them have any clear document to vouch the same, so that that great and aspiring family, who waged frequent wars with our Scotch Kings, and who acted as sovereigns themselves, and obliged most of the clans to swear fealty to them, is now utterly extinct. The last Earl of Ross had no sons, nor any near male relation to succeed him.

"*Cameron.*—A very potent clan in Lochaber. The Laird of Lochiel, called in Gaelic Maconnel Dui, is their Chief. He has a good estate, but none of it holds of the Crown; the most of it is held of the Duke of Argyle, and the rest of the Duke of Gordon. He can bring out 800 men. Of old there were several tribes in that country, viz. Macmartin

of Letterfinlay, and others, branches of the Camerons, who faithfully followed their chief.

"*Macleods*—Were two distinct and very potent families of old, viz. Macleod of Lewis, and Macleod of Harris, but they are both utterly extinct, and their lands possessed by the Mackenzies. The present Laird of Macleod is chief of the name. He is called in Gaelic Macleod. He has a very considerable estate all holden of the Crown, lying in Glenelg, on the Continent, and in the Isle of Skye. He can bring out 700 men.

"*Mackinnons.*—The Laird of Mackinnon is their Chief; he holds his lands of the Crown, both in the Isles of Skye and Mull, and can raise 200 men.

"I again pass to the south to give an account of the inland chiefs, beginning again in Argyleshire, and proceeding from thence northward. There are several persons of rank, as well as gentlemen, who are chieftains, and who have the command of many Highlanders in Argyle, Monteith, Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth shires; such as the Duke of Montrose, the Earls of Moray and Bute, also the Macfarlanes, Macneil of Barra, Macnab of Macnab, Buchanans and Colquhouns of Luss, Macnaughtons, Lamont of Lamont, &c. They can raise among them 5,400 men. Besides these there are several border families, those of Kilraick, Brodie of Brodie, Innes of Innes, Irvine of Drum, Lord Forbes, and the Earl of Airley, all of whom are loyal, except the Ogilvies. Few or none of them have any followers, except Lord Airley from his Highland estate.

"*Duke of Perth*—Is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a considerable number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Drummond in the Low country. He is brought in here allenarly on account of his command of about 300 Highlanders in Glenartnie and other glens in the county of Perth.

"*Robertsons.*—The Laird of Strowan is their Chief. They are called in Gaelic Clan Donachie. His lands hold of the Crown, and lie in Rannoch in the Braes of Athole in Perthshire. On his own estate he can raise about 200 men. There are 500 men more of the Robertsons in Athole who never follow their chief, being part of the followers of the Duke of Atholl.

"*Menzies.*—Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is the Chief. In Gaelic he is called Menairich. He has a very handsome estate, all holding of the Crown, lying in Rannoch, and Appin Dull in Athole, and can raise 300 men.

"*Stewart of Grandtully*—Has a handsome estate in Strathbrane and Strathtay in Athole, all holding of the Crown, out of which he can raise 300 followers.

"*Clan Gregor.*—This name was called down by act of Parliament. They are now dispersed under the different names of Drummond, Murray, Graham, and Campbell, and live in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, &c. &c. They have no present Chief, that being elective, and continuing no longer than the current expedition; he is chosen on the principle of *detur digniori*. They can raise among them 700 men.

"*Duke of Atholl.*—The Murrays is no clan family, though the Duke of Atholl is chief and head of a number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Murray in the Lowlands; but he is deservedly placed here on account of his extensive following of about 3,000 Highlanders, a good many of them out of his own property, but most of them from the estates of the barons and gentlemen who hold their land of him on account of

his great superiorities in Athole, Glenalmond, and Balquidder. The most numerous of these, and the readiest to turn out on all occasions, are the Stewarts of Athole, in number more than 1,000 men, as also 500 Robertsons, who do not follow their chief; likewise the Fergussons, Smalls, Spaldings, Rattrays, Macintoshes in Athole, and Maclarens in Balquidder, with other broken names in Athole, are all followers of the Duke of Atholl.

"Crossing the Grampian Mountains to Brae Mar.

"*Farquharsons.*—The only clan family in Aberdeenshire. In Gaelic called Clan Ianla. They can bring out about 500 men. The Laird of Invercauld is their Chief. He has a very handsome estate holden of the Crown, both in Perthshire and Brae Mar. There are several other barons of the name that have competent fortunes, such as Monaltrie, Inverey, Finzean, &c.

"*Duke of Gordon.*—The Gordons is no clan family, although the Duke is Chief of a very powerful name in the Lowlands. He has a great posse of cavalry and gentlemen on horseback in Enzie and Strathbogie, but he is only placed here on account of his Highland followings in Strathavon and Glenlivet, which are about 300 men; his extensive jurisdictions and superiorities in the centre Highlands, viz. Badenoch, Lochaber, and Strathspey, do not yield him any followers. The tenants on his own property, as well as those who hold their lands of him in feu, follow their natural-born chief, of whom they are descended, and pay no regard either to the master or superior of their lands. Thus the Camerons follow Lochiel, the Macphersons follow Clunie, and other chiefs are followed and obeyed in the same manner from respect, family attachment, and consanguinity.

"*Grant.*—A considerable name and family in Strathspey. The Laird of Grant is their Chief. He has a handsome and large estate both in Strathspey and Urquhart in the county of Inverness, all holden of the Crown, except Abernethy, which he holds of the Earl of Moray. He can raise out of Strathspey 700 men, and out of Urquhart 150. He has several barons of his name both in Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeenshires, such as Dalvey, Ballandalloch, Rothiemurchus, Cullen, &c. &c.

"*Mackintoshes.*—This was one of the most potent clans in Scotland when their residence was at Tor Castle in Lochaber, the ancient seat of their family, (of which country they are still heritable stewards,) but the Camerons having purchased the said estate, their power is much diminished. The Laird of Mackintosh is their Chief; in Gaelic he is called Mackintoshach, and in English Captain of Clan Chattan. He can bring out 800 men, including the small neighbouring clans of Macgillivray, Macqueen, Macbean, &c. who all own themselves his kinsmen. His countries are Brae Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathnearn in Inverness-shire. He still retains a very competent estate. He holds Brae Lochaber, Moy, and Largs, of the Crown, Badenoch of the Duke of Gordon, and most of his kinsmen hold Strathnearn of the Earl of Moray.

"*Macphersons.*—Called in Gaelic Clan Vurrich. Their Chief is the Laird of Clunie. He can raise 400 men. His whole lands and all his kinsmen's lands hold of the Duke of Gordon, and lie in Badenoch.

"*Frasers*—Are a considerable clan in the countries of Aird and Stratherrig in Inverness-shire. Their Chief is Lord Lovat; in Gaelic he is called Macimmie: he has a large estate held of the Crown, and can raise 900 men. He has a good number of barons of his name in Inverness and Aberdeen shires.

"*Grant of Glenmoriston*—Is Chieftain of a branch of the Grants, but

does not follow his Chief. He brings out 150 men. In Gaelic he is called Macphadrick. His lands hold of the Crown. In armaments he frequently joins with the Laird of Glengarry.

"*Chisholms.*—Their Chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held of the Crown, and he can bring out 200 men.

"*Mackenzies.*—One of the most considerable clans of one name next to the Campbells in the nation. The Earl of Seaforth is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Mac Coinich. Out of his countries of Kintail, Lochalsh, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, on the Continent, and in the Isle of Lewis, all in Ross-shire, he can raise 1,000 men. The Earl of Cromarty, with the Lairds of Gairloch, Scatwell, Killicowie, Redcastle, Comrie, &c. &c. can raise among them 1,500 men more.

"*Monroes.*—Sir Henry Monro of Fowlis is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown. He can raise 300 men.

"*Rosses.*—Lord Ross is their Chief. His lands hold of the Crown, and he can raise 500 men.

"*Sutherlands.*—The Earl of Sutherland is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Morar Chatto. He can raise 2,000 men.

"*Mackays.*—The Lord Rae is their Chief. In Gaelic he is called Macaoi. His estate holds of the Crown, lies in Strathnaver, and brings out 800 men.

"*Sinclairs.*—The Earl of Caithness is their Chief. He is called in Gaelic Morar Gallu. He could raise 1,000 men, but many of his followers are now under May, Dunbeath, Ulbster, Freswick, &c. &c."

## D. Page 33.

Of the expedients generally adopted by the Chiefs for summoning their friends and followers, it may not be unacceptable to afford the reader some idea. The warlike disposition of the Celtic clans, their jealousy of wrongs, the numerous concurrent causes of irritation and quarrel, and the nature of the country, over a large surface of which they lived scattered and distant from one another, rendered some signal necessary to give the alarm, and to assemble the warriors. The principal signal was the Cross Tarie or Fiery Cross, a piece of wood burnt or burning at one end, with a piece of linen or white cloth stained with blood hanging from the other. This symbol served two purposes. It was sent round the country to call the men to arms, and it was meant also to show what were the intentions of the enemy, (that is, to burn and desolate the country,) and what would be their own fate if they did not defend their honour, their lives, and their properties. The cross was sent round the country from hand to hand, each person who bore it running at full speed, shouting as he went along the war-cry of the tribe, and naming the place of rendezvous. At each hamlet a fresh man took it up, so that an alarm was given, and the people assembled with a celerity almost incredible. One of the latest instances of the Fiery Cross being used was in 1745 by Lord Breadalbane, when it went round Loch Tay, a distance of thirty-two miles, in three hours, to raise his people and prevent their joining the rebels, but with less effect than in 1715, when it went the same round, and when five hundred men assembled the same evening under the command of the Laird of Glenlyon, to join the Earl of Mar.

The war-cry served as a watch-word to individuals in the confusion of the combat, in the darkness of the night, or on any sudden alarm, when assistance was necessary. Each tribe had its own war-cry, (or

*Slogan*, as it is called in Scotch,) to which every clansman answered. The war-cry of the Grants was *Craig Eila-chie*, from a large rock in the centre of the country of the Grants; that of the Mackenzies *Tullochard*; of the Macdonalds, *Craig-na-fioch*; of the Macphersons, *Craig-dui*; of the Macgregors, *Ard-choile*; of the Macfarlanes, *Loch Sloy*; of the Buchannans, *Clairinish*; and of the Farquharsons, *Carn-ma-cuin*. Some families in the border Lowlands employed their names as *Slogans* and watch-words. In the case of the Gordons, whenever assistance was necessary, the cry of "A Gordon! a Gordon!" was sure to be effectual. The cry of "A Forbes! a Forbes!" was equally availing with regard to the Forbeses; and as these two warlike families were at feud for more than 200 years, they had frequent occasions for their respective slogans, in their countless strifes and rencontres. Besides these cries, they had other marks by which it could be known to what clan, tribe, or district, individuals belonged. One of these was the particular disposition or set of the different colours of the tartan, for the plaid, the kilt, the hose, and the trews. Another mark of distinction was a tuft of heath, pine, or such ornament, stuck in the bonnet, as would not fade or cast the leaf. Thus, the Macdonalds wore tufts of heath in their bonnets; the Macgregors and Grants a bunch of pine; the Mackenzies wore the holly; the Mackintoshes the boxwood, and so on; always taking care, whatever the badge or mark was, that it should be permanent, and not affected by the change of the season. This was the practice of all except the Stewarts, who generally wore the oak; which, from losing the leaf and decaying, many regarded as ominous of the decay of the family and name.

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Of such feuds, many instances might be adduced. I shall select only one, which may serve to exemplify the apparently trivial causes from which they sometimes arose, in periods when men could not resort to the law for protection, and the deadly and often fatal animosity with which they were maintained. After the middle of the fifteenth century a quarrel occurred between Stewart of Garth and a clan named Macivor, who then possessed the greater part of Glenlyon. The Laird of Garth had been nursed by a woman of the clan Macdiarmid, which was then, and is still, pretty numerous in Glenlyon and Breadalbane. This woman had two sons, one of whom, foster-brother to the laird, having been much injured by Macivor in a dispute, threatened to apply for redress to his foster-brother; and the two brothers immediately set out for that purpose to the Castle of Garth, twelve or fourteen miles distant. In those days, a foster-brother was regarded as one of the family; and Macivor, well aware that the quarrel of the Macdiarmids would be espoused by his neighbour, ordered a pursuit. The young men being hard pressed, threw themselves into a deep pool of the river Lyon, where they hoped that their pursuers would not venture to follow them. The foster-brother was, however, desperately wounded with an arrow, and drowned in the pool, which still retains the name of Linne Donnel, or Donald's Pool. The other succeeded in reaching Garth. Resolved to avenge his friend's death, the laird collected his followers and marched to Glenlyon. Macivor mustered his men and met the invaders about the middle of the glen. The chieftains stepped forward between the two bands, in the hope of settling the affair amicably. Garth wore a plaid the one side of which was red, and the other dark-

LIST of CAPTAINS and SUBALTERNS who have served in the 42d or Black Watch, now the 42d Royal Highland Regiment, and who, after their Promotion or Exchange into other Regiments, rose to the Rank of General or Field Officers, from its Formation in 1739, down to 1820, inclusive.

| Rank when served. | NAMES. | From what Regiment. | Dates of Commissions in the Regiment. Ensign. | Lieutenant. | Captain, or Captain-Lieut. | When returned. | Years Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, or otherwise. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when re-tired; or still belong. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Captains. | Robert Campbell of Finab | Campbell's Corps of Highl. | — | — | Oct. 25, 1744 | 1748 | 4 | Hal' Pay. Died 1787 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | John Campbell of Glenlyon | — | — | Dec. 1744 | Mar. 17, 1749 | 1749 | 5 | Half-pay. Exchanged to Marines. Died 1783 | Ditto |
| — | John Campbell of Strachur | Half-pay of Lord Loudon's | — | — | Apr. 9, 1756 | 1763 | 14 | Major of the 17th Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel of the 87th Regiment. Died 1802 | General |
| — | Robert Gray | — | June 8, 1745 | — | July 22, 1756 | Aug. 5, 1759 | 14 | Promoted to 84th Regiment. Died 1791 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | James Abercromby | — | — | — | Feb. 16, 1756 | Sept. 16, 1760 | 4½ | Major in the 78th, (Fraser's Highlanders,) Half-pay 1763, Killed at Bunkerhill in 1775, Adjutant-Gen. to that army | Major |
| — | Gilies Grant | — | Nov. 30, 1745 | Jan. 22, 1756 | Dec. 28, 1760 | Aug. 13, 1762 | 16 | Half-pay Lieut.-Col. Died in 1778 | Major |
| — | Hay Stuart | Scotch Brigade | Aug. 30, 1727 | Apr. 11, 1736 | Aug. 6, 1762 | March 1763 | 35 | Half-pay 1763. Full pay of the 21st Ft. Lt.-Col. Commandant 84th Reg. 1775. Lt.-Gov. of Guernsey. Died in 1790 | Major-General |
| — | Alexander Turnbull of Strachur | — | June 3, 1742 | Sept. 27, 1756 | Aug. 14, 1762 | — | 11 | Half-pay 1763. Full pay of the 32d Foot. Retired. Died 1804 | Major |
| — | Peter Abercromby, son of Gen. Abercromby | 54th Regiment | — | — | May 1, 1757 | 1763 | — | Half-pay 1763. Full pay of the 3d Foot. Removed to a Company of Invalids. Died in 1800 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | James Murray of Strowen, son of Lord G. Murray | — | — | — | July 20, 1737 | 1762 | 13 | Captain 3d Guards. Colonel of the 77th, (Atholc Highlanders,) and 78th, (Highland Regiment.) Died 1794 | Lieut.-General |
| — | Alexander Keir of Balcorras | 53d | — | — | Jan. 30, 1751 | Mar. 28, 1764 | 13 | Major 53d. Lieut.-Colonel 94th and 7th. Colonel of the 42d Regiment | Lieut.-General 1803 |
| — | Alexander Donaldson | — | July 18, 1738 | May 8, 1760 | Mar. 31, 1770 | Aug. 4, 1777 | 19 | Major 78th, (Highland Regiment,) 1777. Retired 1781. Died 1786 | Major |
| — | George Mackenzie, son of the Earl of Cromarty | 3d Battalion Royals | — | — | Dec. 12, 1760 | Aug. 18, 1778 | 8 | Ft. (Lord M'Leod's Highlanders.) Died 1788 | Colonel |
| — | Archibald Erskine of Cardross | 54th | — | — | Sept. 30, 1771 | Jan. 1778 | 7 | 42d Regiment. Retired 1781. Died 1789 | Major |
| Lieut. 17th | John R. Napier of Milliken | 99th | — | — | Jan. 30, 1782 | Nov. 9, 1783 | 3 | Exchanged to the 42d Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Died 1790 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1st Jan. | William Johnstone | 87th | — | — | Aug. 26, 1779 | Aug. 26, 1779 | 4 | Exchanged to the 2d Guards. Died 1814 | Lieut.-General |
| — | Alexander Grant | — | Mar. 1, 1773 | Aug. 23, 1776 | Jan. 20, 1781 | Jan. 24, 1791 | 14 | Exchanged to Half-pay of Lord Huntly's Indep. Companies 1791. Major 76th Reg. Retired 1797. Died 1807 | Major |
| — | Alexander Duncanson of Fairburd | 3d Battalion Royals | — | Mar. 25, 1791 | Feb. 22, 1793 | Aug. 21, 1793 | 2 | Major in the 78th Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Exchanged to 58th Regiment | Lieut.-Gen. in 1810. |
| — | James Campbell | Half-pay | — | — | Dec. 7, 1797 | July 3, 1799 | 2 | Major in the Argyll Fencibles. Lieutenant-Colonel of the 94th Regiment | Major-General in 1813 |
| — | James Mather | Do. Independ. Companies | — | — | Apr. 4, 1794 | July 23, 1800 | 8 | Major in the 6th Foot. Lieutenant-Colonel Buffs. Killed at Alhuera 1811 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | David Stewart | Do. 77th or Atholc Highl. | Oct. 10, 1787 | Aug. 8, 1792 | Oct. 10, 1794 | Apr. 24, 1801 | 8 | Major in the 78th Regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Royal West India Rangers. Half-pay of the 86th Regiment | Colonel in 1814 |
| — | Robert Campbell | — | — | — | July 9, 1803 | Aug. 28, 1804 | 1 | Major in the 71st Regiment. Retired | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | James Fraser | — | Nov. 30, 1791 | July 2, 1793 | Dec. 12, 1800 | Sept. 20, 1804 | 13 | Major in the 6th Royal Veteran Battalion | Major |
| 1st Lieut. 1787 | James Speirs | — | June 5, 1778 | Mar. 22, 1780 | May 24, 1783 | 1786 | 8 | Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 73d, (late 3d Battalion 42d Regiment.) Retired 1796 | Major-General |
| 1st Jan. 1804 | John Dalrymple | 73d | — | — | July 9, 1803 | 1805 | 1 | Major in the 4th Battalion of Reserve. Lieutenant-Colonel 92d Regiment | Major-General in 1819 |
| — | John R. Macpherland | Half-pay 73d | — | Apr. 8, 1800 | — | Sept. 14, 1804 | 4 | Captain and Major in the 91st Regiment | Major |
| — | Alexander Lord Salton | 53th | — | June 25, 1803 | Sept. 7, 1804 | Nov. 23, 1804 | 2 | Exchanged to 1st Foot Guards | Major |
| — | James J. Fraser | — | June 7, 1793 | Jan. 13, 1795 | Apr. 8, 1801 | June 29, 1810 | — | Major in the 6th West India Regiment. Ditto in the 7th Veteran Battalion. Fort-Major Gibraltar | Major |
| — | John Campbell | — | — | Sept. 1804 | 1807 | — | — | Captain in the Regiment, with brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel | Lieut.-Colonel in 1814 |
| — | Murdoch M'Laine | West India Regiment | — | — | 1809 | — | — | Captain in the Regiment, with brevet rank of Major | Major |
| — | Alexander Anderson | 92d | — | Apr. 9, 1801 | Feb. 9, 1809 | Dec. 25, 1815 | 14 | Portuguese Service | Brev.-Lt.-Col. in 1813 |
| Lieutenants. | J. J. Wade | north | — | — | 1809 | — | — | Captain in the Regiment, with brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel | Ditto ditto |
| — | Thomas Fetcher | — | July 17, 1758 | Aug. 1, 1759 | — | March 1763 | — | Half-pay 1763. East India Company's Service. Killed as Colonel Buffs in 1780 | Lieut.-Col. Ind. Comp. Ser. |
| — | Daniel Robertson | — | July 30, 1760 | Apr. 29, 1762 | — | 1763 | 3 | Half-pay 1763. Captain in the 84th Regiment in 1778. Major in the 60th Regiment. Died in 1804 | Colonel |
| — | Alexander Lee | — | — | July 29, 1758 | — | 1763 | — | Captain and Major in Keith's Highlanders. Killed in the Army 1760 | Major |
| — | Thomas Keating | Royals | — | — | 1762 | 1763 | 1 | Half-pay 1763. Retired. Died in 1797 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | James Robertson | Royals | — | July 2, 1762 | — | 1763 | 1 | Resigned February 1763. Entered into the East India Company's Service. Died in 1802 | Lt.-Col. E.I. Comp. Ser. |
| — | James Graham | — | Mar. 31, 1770 | Mar. 1, 1773 | — | May 8, 1777 | 7 | Captain in the 37th. Major in the 57th. Retired in 1778. Died in 1784. | Major |
| — | Gen. Mackenzie, son of the Laird of Seaforth | Half-pay 87th | — | Aug. 25, 1772 | — | Dec. 10, 1777 | 2 | Captain in the 73d, (or Lord M'Leod's Highlanders.) Died 1786 | Ditto |
| — | John Sinclair | — | Feb. 26, 1776 | Nov. 1, 1777 | — | May 18, 1781 | 4 | Captain in the 84th Regiment. Major and Half-pay 1783 | Major |
| — | Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaster | — | Sept. 2, 1774 | June 5, 1778 | — | Mar. 21, 1780 | 2 | Promoted to 1st Battalion. Exchanged to 84th. Died in 1782 | Major |
| — | John Hope | 84th | — | Nov. 1, 1777 | — | Apr. 28, 1781 | 3 | Captain in the 42d Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 60th Regiment. Killed at St Vincent in 1796 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | George Stewart | 42d | — | Sept. 19, 1780 | — | May 4, 1782 | 2 | Captain 33d Regiment. Died 1793 | Major |
| — | Alexander Lovaine | — | Nov. 6, 1778 | May 31, 1781 | — | Dec. 23, 1783 | 5 | Half-pay 1783. Full pay of the 8th Foot. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel 91st Regiment. Retired | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | James Abelon | — | May 24, 1779 | May 31, 1782 | — | Dec. 25, 1783 | 4 | Captain 42d Regiment. Retired. Died in 1801 | Major |
| — | John Napmith, son of Sir J. Napmith | 99th | — | Oct. 14, 1782 | — | Dec. 25, 1783 | 1 | Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel in the 7th West India Regiment. Retired. | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | Alexander Chisholm | 53d | — | May 24, 1779 | — | Dec. 25, 1783 | 4 | Promoted to Major and Lieutenant-Colonel 42d Regiment. Died in 1813 | Major |
| — | Henry D. Fraser, son of Fraserfield | 84th | — | Nov. 23, 1778 | — | Feb. 1, 1791 | 13 | Promoted to Independent Companies in 1791. Company in the 40th. Portuguese Service. Died 1811 | Brig.-Gen. Portuguese |
| — | Hon. Lord Macdonald, son of E. of Eglinton | — | Jan. 22, 1788 | Feb. 26, 1789 | — | June 4, 1793 | 4 | Exchanged to the Coldstream Guards. Major and Colonel 42d Regiment. Died 1834 | Major-General |
| — | Patrick M'Leod, son of Geanies | — | Aug. 23, 1780 | Apr. 9, 1783 | — | Aug. 20, 1794 | 4 | Promoted to the 78th Regiment. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Killed in Egypt in 1807 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | Hugh Rose | — | Sept. 21, 1787 | Sept. 24, 1787 | — | Feb. 28, 1795 | 14 | Promoted to the 78th Regiment. Major in the 30th and 4th Royal Veteran Battalion | Major |
| — | Hugh M'Kinven | — | May 4, 1786 | May 4, 1790 | — | July 26, 1795 | 8 | Promoted to the 4th West India Regiment. Removed to the 42d Regiment. Died 1799 | Major |
| — | George Munro | — | Mar. 16, 1791 | Mar. 20, 1794 | — | Sept. 5, 1795 | 1 | Promoted to 4th West India Regiment | Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | Hon. Wm. Stuart | — | Nov. 6, 1794 | Feb. 9, 1791 | — | Aug. 29, 1797 | 3 | Promoted to Captain. Captain and Major. Retired | Major |
| Ensign. | John M'Neish, son of the Laird of M'Neish | — | Oct. 31, 1739 | — | 1745 | — | 6 | Promoted to Lt. Lenden's Highlanders. Do. to 87th, (Campbell's Highlanders,) 1759. Colonel of the 41st. Died 1791 | Lieut.-General |
| — | Alexander Campbell of Monzie | 40th | Apr. 30, 1740 | — | — | Mar. 10, 1741 | 1 | 3d Royals. Major 74th, (Argyle Highlanders.) 2d Guards. Colonel 2d Regiment | General in 1793 |
| — | John Campbell | — | Mar. 25, 1741 | — | — | Dec. 31, 1742 | 1 | 44th Foot. Lieutenant-Colonel in the 6th Foot. Lieutenant-Governor Gibraltar. Died in 1814 | Lieut.-General in 1811 |
| — | Hon. Wm. Stewart, E.C.B. son of E. of Galloway | — | Mar. 8, 1786 | — | — | Oct. 30, 1787 | 1 | 87th Foot. Colonel of a Rifle Battalion | Lieut.-General in 1813 |
| — | John Lennox, son of the Laird of Lennox | — | Nov. 10, 1755 | — | — | July 31, 1758 | 3 | Independent Company. Promoted to Chet Alpine and Gordon Highlanders | Major-General in 1793 |
| — | Hon. Alex. Erskine, M.C.E. son of Fraserfield | — | June 28, 1763 | — | — | July 31, 1764 | 1 | Lieutenant in the 78th Regiment. Commander-General of Hospitals | Colonel in 1814 |
| — | Hon. Alex. Erskine, M.C.E. son of Fraserfield | — | Aug. 10, 1772 | — | — | Aug. 10, 1775 | 3 | Captain 78th Regiment. Removed to 42d. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel. Half-pay 1816 | Lieut.-Colonel in 1811 |
| — | Richard Williamson | — | July 17, 1782 | — | — | June 10, 1793 | 2 | Captain 79th. Major and Lieutenant-Colonel ditto. Removed to the 103d. Killed in Canada in 1814 | Colonel in 1812 |
| — | George Macpherson | — | July 1791 | Aug. 1803 | Feb. 1804 | — | 11 | Killed at Burgos 1812 | Brevet-Major |
| — | — | — | Sept. 1800 | Sept. 1804 | Feb. 1809. | — | — | Captain in the Regiment | Major |

coloured tartan; and, on proceeding to the conference, he told his men, that, if the result was amicable, the darker side of the plaid should remain outward as it was; if otherwise, he would give the signal of attack by turning out the red side. They were still engaged in the conference, when Macivor whistled loud, and a number of armed men started up from the adjoining rocks and bushes, where they had been concealed, while the main body were drawn up in front. "Who are these," said Stewart, "and for what purpose are they there?" "They are only a herd of my roes that are frisking about the rocks," replied Macivor. "In that case," said the other, "it is time for me to call my hounds." Then turning his plaid he rejoined his men, who were watching his motions, and instantly advanced. Both parties rushed forward to the combat; the Macivors gave way, and were pursued eight miles farther up the glen. Here they turned to make a last effort, but were again driven back with great loss. The survivors fled across the mountains to another part of the country, and were for sometime not permitted to return. Macivor's land was, in the meantime, seized by the victors, and law confirmed what the sword had won.*

The names of the river and glen still continue memorials of this sanguinary fray. Dhui and Glen Dhui were their former names. When the Stewarts were returning from the last pursuit, they washed their swords in the river, which was discoloured a considerable way down on one side by the blood. "This stream," exclaimed the chieftain, "shall no longer be called Dhui, but Leiven, (leiven is to wipe or lave,) and the glen shall be called Glenleiven." Before the combat commenced, Stewart's men pulled off a kind of sandals, bound round the ankles with thongs, and called in Gaelic *cuaran*. These they laid aside close to a small rock, which to this day is called *Lech-na-cuaran*, the stone or slab of the sandals. The spot where they drew their swords is called *Ruskich*, to uncover or unsheath; the field where the rencounter commenced, *Laggan-na-cath*, the field of battle, and the spot where the last stand was made, *Carnus-na-carn*, from the cairns or mounds of stones which cover the graves, and which, from their quantity, show the considerable number slain, which, tradition says, amounted to 140 on the part of the Macivors.

In 1816, a sword and battle-axe, now in my possession, were dug up at Laggan-na-cath. The first is in the form of a small sword, and remarkable for its elegance and proportions, being equal to any model of the present day. The blade is long, but, as may be supposed, much destroyed by rust. The axe, more decayed than the sword, is the same as was anciently used by the Highlanders when they closed in the fight. The sword is so far curious, as it shows that the Highlanders of that age had small swords.

## F. Page 37.

THE following are the instances given by Martin. "Captain Jackson of Whitehaven, about sixteen years ago, was obliged to leave his ship, being leaky, in the bay within Island Glass, alias Scalpa, in the Isle of

* Charters under the Great Seal were passed by James III. dated at Edinburgh, 24th January 1477, and addressed "To John Stewart of Garth and Forthergill, and Neil Stewart his son and heir, of the lands of Forthergill, Apnadull, Temper, and others in Rannoch, Glenquaich, Wester Strathbrane, and *Glenlioun*, in the County of Perth."—*Records Edinburgh Register Office.*

Harris, with two men only to take care of her, though loaded with goods. The ship was not within three miles of a house, and separated from the dwelling-houses by mountains. Yet when the captain returned twelve months afterwards, he found the vessel and his men quite safe. Captain Lotch lost the Dromedary of London, of 600 tons burthen, with all her rich cargo from the Indies, of which he might have saved a great deal, had he embraced the assistance the natives offered him. The captain and his men were kindly entertained in the Isle of Skye by Sir Norman Macleod, and though, among other valuable goods, they had six boxes of gold dust, there was not the least thing taken from them by the inhabitants." *

This protection afforded to the lives and property of their fellow creatures in the calamity of shipwreck, is honourable to a people among whom the restraints of political institutions were few and feeble. To persons who understand the character of the Highlanders, it would be unnecessary to state facts, to prove how generally feelings of humanity, charity, and probity prevail; but it is by relating a succession of characteristic traits and circumstances of different ages and periods, connected with, and illustrating each other, that prejudices long entertained can be subdued, and that a proposition, however true in itself, which militates against general opinion, can be fully established. To deny the truth of a general statement, to which, in all cases, exceptions may be made, is a matter of no difficulty; but it is not so easy to resist a coincident and connected view of the manners and habits of successive generations. I do not mean to apply those observations to the statements which follow, but to the general scope of the whole. I shall have occasion to state facts in opposition to the opinion of many, with regard to the character and dispositions of the Highlanders, as well as with regard to their intelligence, and religious and moral principles.

Without referring to Roman authors, Ossian's poems, or the traditional history of the ancient Caledonians, for the firmness and spirit of independence with which they maintained their freedom from a foreign yoke; I shall only notice a few extracts from authors, whose works were printed soon after they were composed. Among the earliest of these is Hollingshed, who wrote previous to 1560, and who thus speaks of the Highlanders. "Hereby, in like sort, it cometh to pass, that they are more hard of constitution and bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and abstaine longer; whereinto also it appeareth, that they are *kind, bold, nimble,* and thereto more skillfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, *they hold it with great constancie.*" The author of "Certayne Matters concerning Scotland," printed in 1597, speaks as follows of the Highlanders of his day. "Their drink is the broth of sodden flesh; † they love very well the drinks made of whey and certayne yerbs, drinking the same at feasts; but the most part of *them only drink water;* their custom is to make their bread of oats and barley, which are the only kinds of grain that grow in those parts; experience with tyme hath taught them to make it of such sort that it is not unpleasant to eat; they take a little of it in the morning, and passing to the hunting or any other busynis, content themselves without any other kind of meat till even." The following extract is from an author of great learning and research, who wrote upwards of a century after the preceding. "But what

* Martin's Description of the Western Isles. London, printed 1703.

† This beef-soup has gone out of fashion, as many cannot now indulge in animal food. It was called *inerich*, and considered so nourishing, that, even in my own time, it was given to delicate persons who required strengthening food.

contributes above all things to their health and longevity, *is constant temperance.* They rather satisfy than oppress nature. Their meals are two a-day, water being their ordinary drink; they are strangers to many of the distempers, as they are to most of the vices, of other nations, for some of which they have not so much as a name. They owe every thing to nature. They cure all disorders of the body by simples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labour. Hence, they are stout and active, dexterous in all their exercises, as they are withal remarkably sagacious, choleric, but easily appeased, *sociable, good natured, ever cheerful,* and having a strong *inclination to poetry and music.* They are hospitable beyond expression, entertaining all strangers of whatever condition gratis. They have no lawyers or attorneys. The men and women plead their own causes, and every decision is made by the proprietor, who is perpetual president in their courts: or by his bailiff as his substitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief curses of mankind, luxury and ambition. They are not *only rigid observers of justice,* but show less propensity than *any people to tumult,* except what they may be led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to their chiefs and leaders, who are accountable for the mischiefs they sometimes bring on these well-meaning men, by their feuds and quarrels with their neighbours." *

The next quotation is from a valuable work lately published. The author, although born in the Lowlands, and at a distance from the people he describes, was latterly much among them, and had every opportunity of judging and ascertaining the truth of what he states. "The natives of the Highlands and Isles possess a degree of civilization, that, by those who had never been amongst them, would hardly be believed. Attention to the great laws of morality, as confirmed and supported by religion, is nowhere more complete; in no part of the world is property more secure. A stranger in these regions, behaving inoffensively, will not only travel in perfect safety, but be kindly received, and welcomed with affectionate hospitality. On these unknown coasts, shipwrecks must sometimes happen; and, in all cases of that nature, the mariners are not only saved, where it possibly can be done, and kindly entertained, but their property is secured and preserved with a degree of care, that reflects the highest honour on the natives. During the winter of 1784-5, a vessel, navigated by Danish seamen, having struck on a rock west of Icolmkill, the men, afraid of sinking, took to their boat, and made for that island, leaving the vessel, with the sails set, to drive with the wind and tide. Some of the natives, seeing the vessel rolling, without being under proper management, put off to the ship, and, finding no body on board, took possession of her, and carried her into Loch Scridan in Mull. The mariners, seeing their vessel safely moored, went and claimed her, and, without hesitation or dispute, obtained full possession, without any salvage or other charge being made, save a few shillings to the men who brought her in. The ship and cargo were then entrusted to the farmer of the land adjoining the port in which she lay, who, for a very trifling consideration, insured the whole cargo to the owners, and delivered it over to them some months afterwards, complete, and in good order. Another vessel was put ashore about the same time in the Island of Coll, the cargo of which was, in like manner, saved by Mr Maclean, the respectable chief and laird of the island.

"About the same time, two large vessels, belonging to Clyde, went ashore in the Island of Islay; one of them contained on board ten thou-

* Toland's History of the Druids. London, printed 1709.

sand pounds in specie. As these vessels were not under management, merely because of the sickness and lassitude of the crew, as often happens from a long voyage, although the weather was not tempestuous, the cargoes were taken out, and placed along the shores in the best way they could. The vessels were then got off, and when the articles of the two cargoes were collected together, there was not one thing missing, save one barrel of tar, which had probably been hove over board, or lost through carelessness. But the most singular instance of the kind I met with was the following. A vessel from Ireland, laden with linen yarn, was stranded in Islay. The weather happened to become easy, and the cargo was got out; but as it was drenched in salt water, it became necessary to have the whole washed in fresh water. This was done in a river that was near, and the yarn spread about along some extensive fields near the shore. Several hundred persons were employed in this work for several weeks. Yarn is the staple manufacture of the island, so that the temptation for embezzlement was very great, as a discovery in these circumstances would have been extremely difficult. Yet when the whole was collected together, to the utter astonishment of the parties concerned, a very few hanks of the yarn, (about five or six to the best of my recollection,) value about two or three shillings, were wanting.

"I gladly record these instances of honesty and friendly care of the unfortunate. How different from what I have been witness to on the coast of England and Ireland!" *

In a recent scientific work, the ingenious author speaks of the hospitality of the Highlanders, as forming a striking contrast with their exorbitant demands, when payment is expected. These demands (as stated by Dr Macculloch) are much at variance with Mr Fraser's statement. Both are substantially correct. "This habitual extortion," says the Doctor, "presents an amusing, but not an inexplicable contrast to the hospitality, which every one who has travelled in this country must also have experienced. The milk is given with the utmost generosity, but if purchased, even from the same individual, ten times the value is required." † This inconsistency, as this able Geologist justly observes, is not inexplicable. The hospitality and kindness to strangers proceed from the natural disposition; the exorbitant demand for that which, under other circumstances, would be presented with cheerfulness, proceeds from that trafficking spirit which has now reached the Highlands, and is gradually superseding all gratuitous kindness and disinterested hospitality. Men who are not in the habit of demanding payment for hospitality, or even for some species of personal services, know not what to ask. The man who would ask two shillings for a quart of milk, would work a whole day for one shilling, or eighteen pence. A Highland lad will enlist to serve for life, along with a friend, for a trifling or nominal bounty; but if an attempt be made to bargain with the same lad, no sum, perhaps, will tempt him to enlist; or if he do listen to proposals, he will demand a sum out of all reason. I have seen Highland soldiers spring forward to cover their officers from the shot of the enemy; I have seen them endeavouring to restrain their officers, and to keep them back, and under cover, while they fully exposed themselves, in the expectation of diverting the attention of the enemy from their commanders; and I have seen the same soldiers disputing a

* See Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the best Means of Improvement of the Coasts and Western Isles of Scotland, and the extension of the White Fisheries, by Robert Fraser, Esq.

† Dr Macculloch's Description of the Western Isles.

penny in their accounts with the same officers, and this, perhaps, only a few days after this voluntary hazard of their lives to shelter them.

## G. Page 40.

The most noted of these was the celebrated Robert Macgregor Campbell, or Rob Roy, well known, in his own and after times, as the most daring freebooter of his day, and latterly celebrated by the great and faithful Delineator of the character and manners of our countrymen, who has recalled to the recollection of the aged, scenes and circumstances which they had almost forgotten, showed to the young what their forefathers saw in their days, and taught all to appreciate the blessing of living under laws which protect their persons and property, and which forbid the injured or the turbulent to redress their grievances by the sword. Much, perhaps too much, has already been said about this man; but as his actions have formed the subject of one of the most popular works of the age, it may be desirable to state a few particulars explanatory of his birth, character, and conduct, and also of the primary cause of his adopting the lawless course of life which he led for many years. The few notices which follow may be considered as perfectly authentic, being communicated by men who were either sharers in his different exploits, or were perfectly acquainted with the leader and many of his followers.

The father of the present Mr Stewart of Ardvorlich knew Rob Roy intimately, and attended his funeral in 1736, the last at which a piper officiated in the Highlands of Perthshire. * The late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, Mr Macnab of Inchewan, and several gentlemen of my acquaintance, also knew Rob Roy and his family. Alexander Stewart, one of his followers, afterwards enlisted in the Black Watch. He was wounded at Fontenoy, and discharged with a pension in 1748. Some time after this period he was engaged by my grandmother, then a widow, as a grieve to direct and take charge of the farm-servants. In this situation he proved a faithful trust-worthy servant, and was by my father continued in his situation till his death. He told many anecdotes of Rob Roy and his party, among whom he was distinguished by the name of the Bailie, a title which he ever after retained. It was before him that people were sworn, when it was necessary to bind them to secrecy.

Robert Macgregor Campbell † was a younger son of Mr Macgregor of Glengyle, (a respectable family in Perthshire,) by a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, sister to the commander at the massacre of Glenco. He was born some time between 1657 and 1660, and married Helen Campbell of the family of Glenfalloch. As cattle was at that period the principal marketable produce of the hills, the younger sons of

* The pipers on these occasions played a solemn dirge, which served the same purpose as bells in towns, organs in churches, and bands of music at military funerals or executions. The difference was only in the instruments used: the cause and effect were the same in all.

† After the name of Macgregor was suppressed by act of Parliament in 1622, individuals of the clan assumed the names of the chiefs or landlords on whose estates they lived, or adopted the names of such men of rank and power as could afford them protection. Thus Rob Roy took the name of his friend and protector the Duke of Argyle, while his son James, putting himself under the protection of the family of Perth, took the name of Drummond. This cruel and degrading act was repealed in 1778. Now the clan Macgregor may assume and sign their own names to bonds and deeds, (formerly no document signed by a Macgregor was legal,) but numbers do not avail themselves of this indulgence. Many Macgregors have not assumed their original name.

gentlemen had few other means of procuring an independent subsistence, than by engaging in this sort of traffic. At an early period Rob Roy was one of the most respectable and successful *drovers* in his district. Before the year 1707 he had purchased of the family of Montrose the lands of Craigrostane, on the banks of Lochlomond, and had relieved some heavy debts on his nephew's estate of Glengyle. While in this prosperous state, he continued respected for his honourable dealings both in the Lowlands and Highlands. Previously to the Union no cattle had been permitted to pass the English border. As a boon or encouragement, however, to conciliate the people to that measure, a free intercourse was allowed. The Marquis of Montrose, created Duke the same year, one of the most zealous partizans of the Union, was the first to take advantage of this privilege, and immediately entered into partnership with Rob Roy, who was to purchase the cattle and drive them to England for sale; the Duke and he advancing an equal sum, (10,000 merks each, a large sum in those days, when the price of the best ox or cow was seldom twenty shillings,) all transactions beyond this amount to be on credit. The purchases having been completed, Macgregor drove them to England; but so many people had entered into the same speculation, that the market was completely overstocked, and the cattle sold for much less than prime cost. Macgregor returned home, and went to the Duke to settle the account of their partnership, and to pay the money advanced with the deduction of the loss. The Duke, it is said, would consent to no deduction, but insisted on principal and interest. "In that case, my Lord," said Macgregor, "if these be your principles, I shall not make it my principle to pay the interest, nor my interest to pay the principal; so if your Grace do not stand your share of the loss, you will have no money from me." On this they separated. No settlement of accounts followed, the one insisting on retaining the money unless the other would consent to bear his share of the loss. Nothing decisive was done till the Rebellion of 1715, when Rob Roy "was out," his nephew Glengyle commanding a numerous body of the Macgregors, but under the control of his uncle's superior judgment and experience. On this occasion the Duke of Montrose's share of the cattle speculation was expended. The next year his Grace took legal means to recover his money, and got possession of the lands of Craigrostane on account of his debt. This rendered Macgregor desperate. Determined that his Grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should, in future, supply him with cattle, and that he would make the Duke rue the day he quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years, that is, till the day of his death, regularly levied contributions on the Duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations and robberies, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; on an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district; always passing over those not belonging to the Duke's estate, or the estates of his friends and adherents: And, having previously given notice where he was to be on a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trystes, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyle protected him.

When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the Duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to

suffer in every way. The rents of the lower farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a store-house or granary called a *girnal*, near the Loch of Monteath. When Macgregor wanted a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the Duke's tenants to meet him at the girnal, on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his Grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the Duke's store-house, in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn (the factor) had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent except Alexander Stewart, "the Bailie," whom I have already mentioned. With this single attendant, he descended to Chapellairoch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing in a press or cupboard; at the same time saying, that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he desired to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the Duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them, on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, "to show his Grace," said he, "that *it* is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him." After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying, that as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill, and after they had drank heartily together for several hours, he called his Bailie to produce his dirk and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn, that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move, from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him: "If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this," pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.

At another collection of rents by the same gentleman, Macgregor made his appearance and carried him away with his servants, to a small island in the west end of Loch Cathrine; and having kept him there for several days, entertaining him in the best manner, as a Duke's representative ought to be, he dismissed him, with the usual receipts and compliments to his Grace. In this manner did this extraordinary man live, in open violation and defiance of the laws, and died peaceably in his bed when nearly eighty years of age. His funeral was attended by all the country round, high and low, the Duke of Montrose and his immediate friends only excepted. How such things could happen at so late a period, must appear incredible; and this, too, within thirty miles of the garrisons of Stirling

and Dumbarton, and the populous city of Glasgow; and, indeed, with a small garrison stationed at Inversnaid, in the heart of the country, and on the estate which had belonged to Macgregor, for the express purpose of checking his depredations. The truth is, the thing could not have happened, had it not been for the peculiarity of the man's character; for, with all his lawless spoilations and unremitting acts of vengeance and robbery against the Montrose family, he had not an enemy in the country, beyond the sphere of their influence. He never hurt or meddled with the property of a poor man, and, as I have stated, was always careful that his great enemy should be the principal and the only sufferer. Had it been otherwise, it was quite impossible that, notwithstanding all his enterprise, address, intrepidity, and vigilance, he could have long escaped in a populous country, with a warlike people well qualified to execute any daring exploit, such as the seizure of this man, had they been his enemies and willing to do so. Instead of which, he lived socially among them, that is, as social as an outlaw, always under a certain degree of alarm, could do; giving the education of gentlemen to his sons,* frequenting the most populous towns, and whether in Edinburgh, Perth, or Glasgow, equally safe, at the same time, that he displayed great and masterly address in avoiding, or calling for public notice.

These instances of his address struck terror into the minds of the troops, whom he often defeated and out-generaled. One of these instances occurred in Breadalbane, when an officer and forty chosen men were sent out after him. The party crossed through Glenfalloch to Tynedrum, and Macgregor, who had full information of all their movements, was, with a party, in the immediate neighbourhood. He put himself in the disguise of a beggar, with a bag of meal hung on his back, (in those days, alms were always bestowed in produce,) went to the inn at Tynedrum where the party was quartered, walked into the kitchen with great seeming indifference, and sat down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar a lively, sarcastic fellow, when they began to attempt some practical jokes upon him. He pretended to be very angry, and threatened to inform Rob Roy, who would quickly show them they were not to give, with impunity, such usage to a poor and harmless person. He was immediately asked what he knew of Rob Roy, and if he could tell where he was. On his answering that he knew him well, and where he was, the serjeant informed the officer, who immediately sent for him.

After some conversation, the beggar consented to accompany them to Crianlarich, a few miles distant, where he said Rob Roy and his men were, and that he believed their arms were lodged in one house, while they were sitting in another. He added, that Rob Roy was very friendly

* One of his sons, who died not many years ago, was very young at his father's death, and did not receive an equally good education with his brothers. Another son, James Drummond Macgregor, was implicated with his brother Robert in carrying off by force a rich widow, whom he afterwards married. For this crime they were tried and condemned. Robert was executed in 1753, but James escaped from prison and fled to France, where he lived in great poverty; and, being a man of considerable talent and address, was offered a sum of money for communicating intelligence—in short, to be employed as a spy for the French Government. An idea of his education, and of his principles, may be formed from some letters published in Blackwood's Magazine in 1818; and from his rejection of an employment which he considered dishonourable in itself, and detrimental to the good of his country, although banished from it, and having little prospect of being ever permitted to return. He died in France in great poverty, being chiefly supported by some benevolent countrymen.

and sometimes joked with him, and put him at the head of his table; and, "when it is dark," said he, "I will go forward, you will follow in half an hour, and, when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house, ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the serjeant and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company." As they marched on, they had to pass a rapid stream at Dalrie, a spot celebrated on account of the defeat of Robert Bruce, by Macdougal of Lorn, in the year 1304. Here the soldiers asked their merry friend the beggar to carry them through on his back. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time till he took the whole over, demanding a penny from each for his trouble. When it was dark they pushed on, (the beggar having gone before,) the officer following the directions of his guide, and darting into the house with the serjeant and three soldiers. They had hardly time to look to the end of the table where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut behind them, and they were instantly pinioned, two men standing on each side, holding pistols to their ears, and declaring that they were dead men if they uttered a word. The beggar then went out and called in two more men, who were instantly secured, and so on, in the same manner with the whole party. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till morning, when he gave them a plentiful breakfast, and released them on parole, (the Bailie attending with his dirk, over which the officer gave his parole,) to return immediately to their garrison, without attempting any thing more at this time. This promise Rob Roy made secure, by keeping their arms and ammunition as lawful prize of war.

Sometime after this, the same officer was again sent after this noted character, probably to retrieve his former mishap. In this expedition he was more fortunate, for he took two of the freebooters prisoners in the higher parts of Breadalbane, near the scene of the former exploit, but the conclusion was nearly similar. He lost no time in proceeding in the direction of Perth, for the purpose of putting his prisoners in jail, but Rob Roy was equally alert in pursuit. His men marched in a parallel line with the soldiers, who kept along the bottom of the valley on the south side of Loch Tay, while the others kept close up the side of the hill, anxiously looking for an opportunity to dash down and rescue their comrades, if they saw any remissness or want of attention on the part of the soldiers. Nothing of this kind offered, and the party had passed Tay Bridge, near which they halted and slept. Macgregor now saw that something must soon be done or never, as they would speedily gain the low country and be out of his reach. In the course of the night he procured a number of goat-skins and cords, with which he dressed himself and his party in the wildest manner possible, and, pushing forward before daylight, took post near the road side, in a thick wood below Grandtully Castle. When the soldiers came in a line with the party in ambush, the Highlanders, with one leap, darted down upon them, uttering such yells and shouts, as, along with their frightful appearance, so confounded the soldiers, that they were overpowered and disarmed without a man being hurt on either side. Rob Roy kept the arms and ammunition, released the soldiers, and marched away in triumph with his rescued men.

The terror of his name was much increased by exploits like these, which, perhaps, lost nothing by the telling, as the soldiers would not probably be inclined to diminish the danger and fatigues of a duty in which they were so often defeated. But it is unnecessary to repeat the

stories preserved and related of this man and his actions, which were always daring and well contrived, often successful, but never directed against the poor, nor prompted in revenge, except against the Duke of Montrose, and without an instance of murder or bloodshed committed by any of his party, except in their own defence.* In his war against the Montrose family he was supported and abetted by the Duke of Argyle, from whom he always received shelter when hard pressed, or, to use a hunting term, when he was in danger of being earthed by the troops.† These two powerful families were still rivals, although Montrose had left the Tories and joined Argyle and the Whig interest. It is said that Montrose reproached Argyle in the House of Peers with protecting the robber Rob Roy, when the latter, with his usual eloquence and address, parried off the accusation, (which he could not deny,) by jocularly answering, that, if he protected a robber, the other supported him.

## H. Page 61.

THIS man had been a serjeant in the French service, and came over to Scotland in the year 1745. From his large size he was called Serjeant Mor. Having no settled abode, and dreading the consequence of having served in the army of France, and of being afterwards engaged in the Rebellion, he formed a party of outlaws, and took up his residence among the mountains between the counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyle. While he plundered the cattle of those whom he called his enemies, he protected the property of his friends, and frequently made people on the borders of the Lowlands purchase his forbearance by the payment of *Black Mail*. Many stories are told of this man. On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort-William on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way, and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the Serjeant Mor; he, therefore, requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and, while they walked on, they talked much of the Serjeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom with his name, calling him robber, murderer.—"Stop there," interrupted his companion, "he does indeed take the cattle of the Whigs and you Sassanachs, but neither he nor his cearnachs ever shed innocent blood; except once," added he, "that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (the spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners, retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune." "You," says the officer, "what had you to do with the affair?" "I am John Du Cameron—I am the Serjeant Mor; there is the road to Inverlochay—you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send a more wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also, that, although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a de-

* It is said that the last rencounter Macgregor had was a duel with Mr Stewart of Ardshiel. They fought with the broad sword. Macgregor being then far advanced in years, and very corpulent, gave up the contest, after receiving a cut in the chin.

† A cave under Craigrostane, and close to Lochlomond, is pointed out as one of his hiding places. If, contrary to the general opinion of the people, he ever lived in caves, it is probable that he would not make choice of such an one as that at Craigrostane, whence an escape would be impossible if an enemy discovered the hiding place, and guarded the entrance. Rob Roy was not a man likely to trust himself in such a place on any emergency, or danger from an enemy.

fenceless man who confided in me." The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.

Some time after this, the Serjeant Mor was betrayed by a treacherous friend, and taken by a party under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro. This happened at the farm of Dunan, in Rannoch, where he was in the habit of sleeping in safety, till that night, when it is said that his landlord sent notice to Lieutenant Munro, who was stationed two miles distant. Cameron slept in a barn; his arms having, as was supposed, been secretly removed, by his false friend. He was found asleep, and the soldiers rushed in and seized him; but, being a powerful man, he shook them all off, and made his way to the door, where he was overpowered by those on the outside. He threw off one of the soldiers with such force against the wall of the barn, that he was long disabled by the bruises. Cameron was carried to Perth, and tried before the Court of Justiciary for the murder in Braemar, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing. One of these acts of theft was stealing from the Duke of Atholl's parks at Blair two wedders, which the party killed for food, on their retreat from Braemar. Cameron was executed at Perth on the 23d November 1753, and hung in chains.

It was then the practice, in the Court of Justiciary, to call the Doomster (an officer so called) into Court after sentence of death was passed, to place his hand on the head of the criminal, as a token that he was in future to be under his care. A friend of mine, who was present at this trial, informed me, that when the Doomster approached the Serjeant Mor, he exclaimed, "Keep the caitiff off, let him not touch me;" and stretching his arms as if to strike, the Doomster was so terrified by his look, action, and voice, that he shrunk back, and retired from the Court, without going through the usual ceremony.

## I. Page 66.

Beague, in his history of the Scotch Campaigns of 1548 and 1549, describing the battle of Pinkie, in which the Scots were defeated, says, "The Highlanders, who show their courage on all occasions, gave proof of their conduct at this time, for they kept together in one body, and made a very handsome and orderly retreat. They are armed with broad swords, large bows, and targets."

"The armour," says the author of "Certayne Matters," in 1597, "with which they covered their bodies in times of war, is an iron bonnet, and halberzion side almost even with their heels; the weapons against their enemies are bows and arrows; they fight with broad swords and axes; in place of a drum they use a bagpipe; they delight much in music, but chiefly in harps and clairsshoes (*clairsach* is the Gaelic for harp) of their own fashion." The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier," speaking of the Highlanders in the Scotch army under General Leslie in 1640, says, "I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable. They were generally tall swinging-looking fellows; their swords were extravagantly broad; and they carried large wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper parts of their bodies. Their dress was antique as the rest; a flat cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of Merry Andrews, ready for Bartholomew fair. They are

in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another by his Christian name, as James, John, Rob, and Allister, that is Alexander, and the like; and they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront; but to their own chiefs or lairds they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. To give them their due, were their skill in exercise and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the best soldiers in the world. They have large bodies, and prodigious strong, and two qualities above all other nations, viz. hardy to endure fatigue, hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it, for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them, and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some of them, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse. There were 3,000 or 4,000 of these in the Scotch army, armed only with swords and targets, and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them. But there were also a great many Scotch regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy."

## K. Page 67.

Among the last instances of bowmen in the Highlands were two which occurred in the reign of Charles II. After a long and protracted feud between the Lairds of Mackintosh and Lochiel, commencing in a claim of the former to lands held by the latter, Mackintosh, to enforce his claim, raised his clan, and, assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1,500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1,200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. When preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight, with 500 men, and sent them notice, that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his force into the opposite scale. This was a strong argument, and not easily refuted. After some hesitation, his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicably and finally settled.

The other instance happened about the same time, in a contest between the Macdonalds of Glenco and the Breadalbane men. The former being on their return from a foray in the low country, attempted to pass through Breadalbane without giving due notice, or paying the accustomed compliment to the Earl, who, a short time previously, had been raised to that rank. A number of his Lordship's followers, and a great many others, who were assembled at the castle of Finlarig to celebrate the marriage of a daughter of the family, enraged at this insult, instantly rushed to arms, and following the Macdonalds, with more ardour than prudence, attacked them on the top of a hill north from the village of Killin, where they had taken post to defend their cattle. The assailants were driven back with great loss, principally caused by the arrows of the Lochaber men. It is said that nineteen young gentlemen of the name of Campbell, immediate descendants of the family, fell on that day. Colonel Menzies of Culdares, who had been an active partizan under the Marquis of Argyle and the Covenanters in the civil wars, and whose prudent advice of attacking in flank the hot-headed youth despised, had nine arrow wounds in his legs and thighs.

The yew was the common material of the bows of the Highlanders,

"who drew,
And almost joined the horns of the tough yew."

Within the church-yard of Fortingal, Perthshire, the ruins of an enormous yew-tree still remain. The stem is now separated in two parts; the principal, although only a mere shell, the centre being entirely decayed, measures thirty-two feet in circumference. Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon, and my grandfather, used to say, that when they were boys, (about the year 1725,) the parts now separated were united, when the whole stem measured fifty-six feet in circumference. This venerable relic, which appears so respectable in its decay, has suffered much from delapidations. Tradition says, that warriors, at one time, cut their bows from it; latterly, dirk-makers, shoemakers, and others, made handles from it for their dirks, awls, and other instruments; and it has suffered greatly from the curiosity of modern tourists.

In the original charter for building the church of Peróne, in Piccardy, dated in the year 684, a clause was inserted, directing the proper preservation of a yew-tree, which was in existence in the year 1790, about 1,100 years after this notice of it in the charter,—a remarkable instance of the durability of this species of wood.

## L. Page 74.

WITHIN these few years, an opinion has prevailed, that the truis is the ancient garb of the Highlanders, and that the plaid, kilt, and bonnet, are of modern invention. This opinion, adopted by many, is supported by a writer in the Scots Magazine of 1798. This author endeavours to prove that the plaid and philibeg must be modern, and assigns, as a reason, that they are not mentioned by ancient authors; but as those authors generally wrote in Latin, the words plaid and kilt could not probably be expressed in appropriate terms. The author of "Memoirs of a Cavalier" says, that a body of 4,000 Highlanders, whom he saw with the Scotch army in 1640, "wore flat caps on their heads, called by them bonnets, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublets, *breeches*, and stockings, of a kind of stuff they called plaids, striped across, red, green, and yellow, with short cloaks of the same." Now, as this author mentions neither truis nor kilt, it might be supposed that they had not those articles of dress as late as the reign of Charles I., and that breeches only were worc, consequently, that truis and kilt were adopted since that period, although it is well known that the truis is a very ancient, but not the only ancient dress of the Caledonians. Beague, in his history of the Campaigns in Scotland in 1548 and 1549, printed in Paris, 1556, states, that at the siege of Haddington, in 1549, "they (the Scotch army) were followed by the Highlanders, and these last go *almost naked;* they have painted waistcoats, and a sort of woollen covering, variously coloured." As the author wrote in French, perhaps he did not understand the terms tartan plaid and kilt, and as the people wore painted waistcoats and *coloured coverings*, it is probable, that, if they had had the addition of truis, they would not have been described as "almost naked." The author of "Certayne Matters" says, that in his days, (previously to 1597,) "they (the Highlanders) delight much in marbled clothes, specially that has long stripes of sundrie colours; their predecessors used short mantles of divers colours, sundrie ways divided." The author first mentioned states, that plaids and tartan

came from Flanders to the Lowlands of Scotland, in the sixteenth century, and thence passed to the Highlands; but is it certain that tartan was known in Flanders, and that tartan and the kilt were worn in the Lowlands, before their supposed passage to the mountains? The garb is also called "beggarly, *effeminate*, (this, I apprehend, is rather an unexpected characteristic,) grossly indecent and absurd," with the tasteless regularity and "vulgar glare of tartan." * The colours of the tartan are not more red and glaring than the peers' robes, the military uniforms, or the royal livery, and yet these are not generally considered vulgar. But, on the whole, as it is not probable that a people, at so late a period, would assume a garb totally unknown in the world, and in their cold climate put away the warm breeches, and expose half their body to the blast, there are the better grounds for the undivided opinion of the people themselves, that, as far back as they have any tradition, the truis, *breachan-na-feal*, (the kilted plaid,) and philebeg, have ever been the dress of the Highlanders. The truis were used by gentlemen on horseback, and by others as they were inclined, but the common garb of the people was the plaid and kilt. This was the usual dress down till the act passed for the suppression of the garb. My grandfather always wore tartans; truis, with the plaid thrown across the shoulders on horseback, and the kilt when on foot, and never any other clothes, except when in mourning. When gentlemen travelled southward, it was generally on horseback, consequently they wore the truis, and were often in armour; of course the Lowlanders would the more readily notice the former as a prominent part of the mountain garb, and describe it accordingly.

## M. Page 81.

The weddings were the delight of all ages. Persons from ten years of age to four score attended them. Some weeks previous to the marriage-day, the bride and bridegroom went round their respective friends, to the distance of many miles, for the purpose of inviting them to the wedding. To repay this courtesy, the matrons of the invited families returned the visit within a few days, always well supplied with presents of beef, hams, butter, cheese, spirits, malt, and whatever they thought necessary for the ensuing feast. These, with what the guests paid for their entertainment, and the gifts presented the day after the marriage, were often so considerable, as to contribute much to the future settlement of the young couple. On the wedding-morning, the bridegroom, escorted by a party of friends, and preceded by pipers, commenced a round of morning calls, to remind their invited friends of their engagements. This circuit sometimes occupied several hours, and as many joined the party, it might perhaps be increased to some hundreds, when they returned to the bridegroom's house. The bride went a similar round among her friends, each having their separate parties. The bridegroom gave a dinner to his friends, and the bride to hers. During the whole day, the fiddlers and pipers were in constant employment. The fiddlers played to the dancers in the house,

* One of the most distinguished artists of the age, Mr West, late President of the Royal Academy, differs from this opinion. He has expressed his surprise at the blending and arrangement of the colours, and considers, "that great art (that is to say, much knowledge of the principles of colouring with pleasing effect) has been displayed in the composition of the tartans of several clans, regarding them in general as specimens of natural taste, something analogous to the affecting, but artless strains of the native music of Scotland."

and the pipers to those in the field.* The ceremony was generally performed after dinner. Sometimes the clergyman attended, sometimes they waited on him: the latter was preferred, as the walk to his house with such a numerous attendance added to the eclat of the day. On these occasions the young men supplied themselves with guns and pistols, with which they kept up a constant firing. This was answered from every hamlet as they passed along, so that, with streamers flying, pipers playing, the constant firing from all sides, and the shouts of the young men, the whole had the appearance of a military array passing, with all the noise of warfare, through a hostile country. The young couple never met on the wedding-day till they came before the clergyman, when the marriage rites were performed, with a number of ceremonies too minute to particularize. One of these was to untie all the strings and bindings on the person of the bridegroom; nothing to be bound on that occasion, but the one indissoluble knot, which death only can dissolve. The bride was not included in this injunction. She was supposed to be so pure and true, that infidelity on her part was not contemplated. Such were the notions and delicacy of thinking among a people esteemed rude and uncultivated. As all these ceremonies, which were very numerous and very innocent, added much to the cheerfulness and happiness of the young people, I cannot help regretting their partial disuse. Nor can I help preferring a Highland wedding, where I have myself been so happy, and seen so many blithe countenances and eyes sparkling with delight, to such weddings as that of the Laird of Drum, ancestor of the Lord Sommerville, when he married a daughter of Sir James Bannatyne of Corehouse. On that occasion, sanctified by the puritanical cant of the times, there was "one marquis, three earls, two lords, sixteen barons, and eight ministers present at the solemnity, but not one musician; they liked yet better the bleating of the calves of Dan and Bethel, the ministers' long-winded, and sometimes nonsensical graces, little to purpose, than all musical instruments of the sanctuaries, at so solemn an occasion, which, if it be lawful at all to have them, certainly it ought to be upon a wedding-day, for divertisement to the guests, that innocent recreation of music and dancing being much more warrantable, and far better exercise than drinking and smoking of tobacco, wherein the holy brethren of the Presbyterian (persuasion) for the most part employed themselves, without any formal health, or remembrance of their friends, a nod with the head, or a sign with the turning up of the white of the eye, served for the ceremony." † Such was a Scotch wedding towards the end of the seventeenth, and such, I hope, will not be Highland weddings of the nineteenth century, although now seldom countenanced by the presence of chiefs and landlords, as modern

* Playing the bagpipes within doors is a Lowland and English custom. In the Highlands the piper is always in the open air; and when people wish to dance to his music, it is on the green, if the weather permits; nothing but necessity makes them attempt a pipe dance in the house. The bagpipe was a field instrument intended to call the clans to arms, and animate them in battle, and was no more intended for a house, than a round of six pounders. A broadside from a first rate, or a round from a battery, has a sublime and impressive effect at a proper distance. In the same manner, the sounds of bagpipes, softened by distance, had an indescribable effect on the mind and actions of the Highlanders. But as few would choose to be under the muzzle of the guns of a battery, so I have seldom seen a Highlander, whose ears were not grated when close to pipes, however much his breast might be warmed, and his feelings roused, by the sounds to which he had been accustomed in his youth, when proceeding from the proper distance.

† Memoirs of the Sommerville Family.

manners preserve a greater distance than on the days of that cordial communication which subsisted between the higher and lower orders.

## N. Page 82.

It has often been said that the music of Scotland was borrowed from Italy, and that David Rizzio first gave it the stamp and character which it now bears. If this opinion be well founded, it would be desirable to show what part of the Scottish music has been borrowed, what is original, and whether this particular kind of music was ever known in Italy. Bagpipes are common in Italy, particularly among the Tyrolese in the north, and the Calabrese in the south; yet, is it probable that the Highland pibrochs came either from Italy or the Tyrol? The Reel of Tulloch, Rothiemurchus Rant, and Jenny Dang the Weaver, cannot well claim any near connection with Italian music. Mackintosh's Lament, and Craiguana in the north, the Birks of Invermay in the centre, and the Flowers of the Forest in the south of Scotland, from their melody, bear some resemblance to it, but as there must be a similarity in all melodious sounds, it is probable, that the connection between the softer music of Scotland and the Italian, is only to be found in their beauty, and that the Pibroch, Reel, Strathspey, Lament, and Songs, are peculiar to the country. The opinion which attributes the melody of the Scotch songs to Rizzio, and the sublime and elevated sentiments of Ossian to Macpherson, seem to be founded more on the ideas entertained of the rude and uncultivated state of Scotland, at an early period, as being perfectly incompatible with the delicacy of taste and feeling which both the poetry and music display, than on any authentic information. But where there is a deficiency of authentic information, there is more room for a diversity of opinion, especially as, on one side, all is tradition, supported by many facts; and on the other, all is assertion, without one fact, except some surmises originating in the vanity of Rizzio and Macpherson. The latter had too much honour to assert that he was the author of the poems, although, as the MSS. of which he got possession have disappeared, perhaps he would not have been sorry if the world had given him credit for talents equal to such compositions. The MSS. would have been clear evidence against him, but he has himself furnished complete evidence, by his poetical works, and other translations. However, a fine field of disquisition is opened, and national vanity interposes to darken the question. In the south, it cannot be endured, that a people who have always been considered as savage and rude, should compose, preserve for ages, and enjoy with enthusiasm, the beauties of a body of poetry, equal to what the most refined civilization has produced. In the north, again, the people are impatient and irritated at the attempts to accuse them of fraud and falsehood, and of endeavours to palm on the public the patched-up works of a modern author, as the genuine productions of their ancestors. Had the question, when first agitated, been properly managed, it might have been easily decided, since so many people were in possession of the poems. But, even at that period, who were to be the judges? The southern unbelievers could not have understood one word of the poems in dispute, although all the bards in the north had been assembled, and each had recited Macpherson's publication verbatim. The Highlanders, the only people who understood the language, and could judge properly, would not have been believed, although they had asserted that the recitals of the bards and the translations coincided perfectly. In such a determined difference of opinion, how is the point to be settled? All, therefore, who

believe that Rizzio did not, in any manner whatever, form the national music of Scotland, and that the poems ascribed to Ossian are very ancient, (as ancient as the period when the Highlands had a king, a court, and a university,) and so authentic as to have been handed down from father to son for ages beyond the reach of record, will continue of this belief; while those who are of the contrary opinion must remain so, as there are no proofs such as they require, that is, books or manuscripts. The manuscripts on which so much stress was laid were not many centuries old, and did in no manner prove who was the author. Had they been preserved, they would only have established this point,—certainly of some importance in the controversy,—that the poems were not the composition of a modern author; but as I believe it has not yet been ascertained in what MSS. (or if in any) the works of Homer were found and transmitted to posterity, and as no MSS. are now extant of an older date than one thousand years posterior to the days of Homer, Ossian's poems, whoever may have been the author or authors, are in good company when in a similar predicament.

O. Page 84.

While game was in such abundance as to form a part of the subsistence of the people, at a time when many had the means of destruction ready, and much liberty was given, it appears remarkable, that, now, when preserved with such jealous care, it is, in many places, become so scarce, as only to furnish a short pastime to a comparatively few privileged individuals; a fact which might lead to a belief, that too great care defeats its own object, and ensures the evil against which it seeks to guard. It is certain, that moors which annually afford an apparently inexhaustible supply, and where good marksmen have been known to shoot more than one hundred birds in a forenoon, the game seems to increase instead of diminishing by this periodical destruction, persevered in, as it has been, for weeks, each successive season; whereas, in other moors strictly preserved, the birds are fewer in number, and becoming very scarce; at the same time, that I have been assured by men well acquainted with the state of these grounds in past times, that game was as abundant as on those which now furnish the greatest numbers. The mountains of Breadalbane, Athole, Badenoch, and other districts, furnish marked instances of this scarcity of game when protected, and of abundance where the greatest annual destruction prevails. For the singular fact that the periodical killing of game does not diminish the annual increase, various reasons are assigned. It is said, that when the old birds are left, they chase away in spring all the young brood of the preceding season, and that these take shelter on grounds where the old birds had been killed. It is also said, that, in preserved moors, poachers are more frequent, bold, and destructive, in the expectation, as few frequent them, that they will not be discovered. A third assigned cause, and, in appearance, the most destructive of game, is, that the farmers and shepherds who occupy these moors, irritated by severe restrictions, tormented by threats of punishment, and insulted by the arrogance of insolent game-keepers, instead of being encouraged to preserve the game, and, instead of being allowed to derive from it either benefit or amusement, make a practice, in many cases, of feeding their dogs with the eggs, and when these escape their notice, accustom them to search for and destroy the young brood before they are fledged. Whether any or all of these causes affect the decrease of game, there appears to be little doubt, judging from the character of the Highlanders, that a kind and liberal indulgence to tenants in a moderate use of the gun on their

own grounds, with an injunction to their shepherds to be careful of the nests and of the young, and not to burn the heather in improper seasons, or in those places most frequented by the game, (although burning the heath in moderation is advisable, as the young sprouts furnish their principal food,) and alongst with this indulgence, the offer of small premiums to the shepherds for each covey of eight or more birds they can produce in their pasture, would make it their interest to preserve the game; no person could escape notice; and thus, they would form a better protection against poachers, than prosecutions, fines, and imprisonment.

P. Page 87.

In the common transactions of the people, written obligations were seldom required, and although bargains were frequently concluded in the most private manner, * there were few instances of a failure in, or denial of, their engagements. A gentleman of the name of Stewart agreed to lend a considerable sum of money to a neighbour. When they had met, and the money was already counted down on the table, the borrower offered a receipt. As soon as the lender (grandfather of the late Mr Stewart of Ballachulish) heard this, he immediately collected the money, saying, that a man who could not trust his own word, without a bond, should not be trusted by him, and would have none of his money, which he put up in his purse and returned home. An inhabitant of the same district kept a retail shop for nearly fifty years, and supplied the whole district then full of people, with all their little merchandise. He neither gave nor asked any receipts. At Martinmas of each year, he collected the amount of his sales, which were always paid to a day. In one of his annual rounds, a customer happened to be from home; consequently, he returned unpaid, but before he was out of bed the following morning, he was awakened by a call from his customer, who came to pay his account. After the business was settled, his neighbour said, "You are now paid; I would not for my best cow † that I should sleep while you wanted your money after your term of payment, and that I should be the last in the country in your debt." Unfortunately, new regulations, new views of Highland statistics, and the novel practice of letting land to the highest bidder, regardless of the fidelity and punctual payment of old occupiers, have made a melancholy change. Few of the late moral population now remain, and that few are mostly reduced to the condition of cottars and day-labourers. The person who now occupies the shop, a son of the former possessor, must not only keep strict accounts, but give short credits, and calculate on an annual reduction of his profits by bad payments; and he is in little danger of being deprived of his morning slumbers by debtors anxious to pay, and ashamed of being in debt. This is now too common to be a reproach, and is one of the many concomitants of modern improvements and civilization, as they have been forced on and practised in the Highlands.

* When their money agreements or other negotiations were to be concluded and confirmed, the contracting parties went out by themselves to the open air, and looking upwards, called Heaven to witness their engagements, at the same time, each party repeating the promise of payment, and, by way of seal, putting a mark on some remarkable stone, or other natural object, which had been noticed by those ancestors whose memory they so much respected and loved.

† My longest horned cow, was the literal Gaelic expression. Long and well-shaped horns are considered as marks of health and strength.

## Q. Page 95.

In the Highlands, where so many of the same name live in the same district or glen, some denomination for distinguishing individuals beyond that of the generic name is indispensable. In the late Sutherland Fencible Regiment there were 17 William Mackays in Captain Sackville Sutherland's company, and 104 in the regiment. When the 2d battalion of the 78th Highlanders was raised in 1804, an ensign from Ross-shire brought 18 men of his own name, of Macrae, as part of his compliment of 20, for an ensigncy. On the estates of many noblemen and gentlemen, the number of their own surnames is often beyond all proportion greater than any others. On a part of the estate of the Laird of Menzies, running four miles along one side of a valley, on the banks of the Tay, there are 502 of his name, descended of his family. Many similar instances are still to be met, where gentlemen have retained their ancient tenantry. In Athole, an extensive district of Perthshire, there were, not many years ago, 36 landholders of the name of Stewart; there are still 23; and in Athole, Strathearn, and Monteith, there are nearly 4,000 people of that name. In such communities, the want of some distinguishing appellation would lead to confusion. These distinctions were generally made as follows: In the case of a chief, by using singly, and by way of eminence, the denomination of the son of the first founder, or most renowned man of the family, as, for example, the Duke of Argyle, who is styled *Mac Caillain Mor*,* the son of the great Colin; *Mac Connel Du*, the son of Donald the Black, the name of the chiefs of the Camerons. Under this head there was another distinction. Chieftains, Cean Tays, or great branches of a clan or family, were distinguished as the sons of the first founder. Such as Breadalbane, a great branch of the clan Campbell; *Mac Caillain Macconachie*, the son of Colin the son of Duncan.† Lairds or landholders were named from their estates, as Stewart of Grandtully, Stewart of Garth, and so on, all others being distinguished by some personal mark which might be either an accidental defect, any natural advantage, or any singularity of colour, figure, or features. The second Marquis of Atholl was known by the name of *Ian a Bheal Mor*, John with the large mouth; John the first Duke of Atholl being blind of an eye, *Ian Cam*; the first Earl of Breadalbane having a pale countenance, *Ian Glas*; the second Earl, *Ian Bachach*, from his being lame. If a man had no personal mark, or patrimonial distinction, he was known by adding the name of his father, as the son of John. This perhaps ran back for three or four generations. However absurd a long string of names may appear in English, it is not so in Gaelic, from the facility of compounding words in that language.

* Although *Mor* is great, the word does not always mean great power, or superior talent. It was more frequently given to men of large size, or portly persons.

† The people seldom call Lord Breadalbane by his patronymic, but not so the Duke of Argyle, Lord Seaforth, Lord Macdonald, and many others. Riding a few years ago through the Duke of Argyle's parks at Inveraray, I observed some young blood horses grazing. A woman happening to pass at the time, I asked her in Gaelic to whom the horses belonged. "To whom should they belong," she sharply answered, "but to Mac Caillain?" seemingly quite indignant that I should suppose that any man could possess any thing there but Mac Caillain Mor.

R. Page 96.

THERE are four different spellings of this name. Stewart, Steuart, Stuart, and Steward. The ancient and original name, as spelt by the royal family, is Stewart, taken from the office of Lord High Stewart of Scotland, which was hereditary in the family nearly two centuries before the succession of Robert II. to the throne. The original spelling of Stewart continued for several reigns after this succession, till the increased communication between France and Scotland, caused so many noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers, to serve in the French army. James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France, carried with him on one occasion 7,000 men, as auxiliaries in the war with England. The Lords of Darnley and Aubigny were frequent visitors in France, and held extensive military commands and possessions there, and following the idiom of the French language, the W being unknown, several began to use the U, and spelt the name *Stuard* or *Stuart*. Mary Queen of Scots being educated in France, on her subsequent marriage with the Dauphin, and out of compliment to her husband's language, likewise adopted that mode of spelling, as did her brother the Earl of Murray, and the families of Traquair, Bute, Castlemilk, and several others, which, from whim or accident, changed their names. How much accident guided this change of name is evident from the circumstance, that the Lords Galloway and Blantyre retain the old spelling of Stewart, while other families of the same descent, as Castlemilk, spell Stuart; Allanton, Steuart; Allanbank, a branch of Allanton, Stuart; Coltness, also a branch of Allanton, Stewart: and while Traquair is Stuart, Grandtully, of the same descent and family, is Stewart. Even the Earl of Murray, before his promotion to that title, when Prior of St Andrews, and previously to the return of Queen Mary from France, spelt his name Stewart, as we find by the following document, signed by him and the Earl of Argyle, and Ruthven Earl of Gowrie, authorizing the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid to destroy all images and relics of the Catholic religion in the Cathedral of Dunkeld.

" To our traist friends the Lairds of Airntully and Kinvaid.

" TRAIST friends, after most hearty commendation, we pray you fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk of Dunkeilden, and tak doon the hail images thereof, and bring them forth to the kirk yaird and burn them openly. And sicklyke cast doon the alters and purge the kirk of all kind of idolatyry. And this ze fail not to do, as ze will do us singular impleasure, and so committeth you to the protection of God.

" From Edinburgh the XII of August 1560.

" Argyle.

" *James Stewart.*

" William Ruthven.

" Fail not, but ze tak guid heyd that neither the desks, windocks, nor duires, be any way hurt or broken, eyther glassin wark or iron wark."

S. Page 99.

IT is a generally received opinion, that the Highlanders are ignorant and uneducated. It is no doubt true, that, previous to the present reign, many could not read, and many could not understand what they read in English, and there were few books in their own language; but they had

their bards and senachies, who taught them in the manner already mentioned. But the middle and higher orders of society were as well educated as the youth of any part of the united kingdom. The gentlemen farmers and tacksmen were certainly better classical scholars than men holding the same occupation and rank in society in the south. These observations must be confined to the period which has elapsed since the reign of Charles II. as the prior notices are not in a connected series. But, to judge from insulated circumstances, the education of the gentry of an earlier period was not deficient. Of this, the celebrated General Buchanan, the son of a Highland farmer, was a remarkable instance. On reference to old family charters and papers, it will be found, that the signatures to the former, from and after the year 1500, show a correctness of writing not to be seen in modern times, and not to be acquired without much time and experience. Aware that it might be said that these signatures were written by the notaries and others who drew out these charters, I have compared the signatures of the same persons to different instruments at considerable intervals, and signed in different places, sometimes as principals, others as witnesses, and I have found them always similar, or in the same hand. Of this, I have seen many instances in my own family, as well as in several others. A fair hand is certainly no proof of classical education; but it is a proof of care having been bestowed on a branch of education which was not then so necessary as it is now, when epistolary communication is so much more frequent. In those days, when there was no public conveyance, and when distant events did not occupy so much of the attention of men, there was not the same inducement to correspond. It may therefore be concluded that they to whose instruction in writing so much attention had been paid, would not be neglected in other branches of education. The fragments of manuscripts and private correspondence which have been preserved in families give evidence of classical attainments, and prove also, that this was not confined to one sex. The following is an instance. There is a manuscript volume preserved in the family of Stewart of Urrard, of 260 pages, of poems, songs, and short tracts, in the Scotch language, written, as is stated on the first page, by Margaret Robertson, daughter of George Robertson of Fascally, and wife of Alexander Stewart of Bonskeid, dated 1643. It is written in a beautiful hand, and with such correctness, that it might be sent to the press.

There were eminent grammar schools in Inverness, Fortrose or Channonry, Dunkeld, &c. The grammar school of Perth was celebrated for ages. From these different seminaries, young men were sent to Aberdeen and St Andrews, and many to Leyden and Douay. The armies of Sweden, Holland, and France, gave employment to the younger sons of the gentry, who were educated abroad; many of these returned with a full knowledge of modern languages, added to their classical education, often speaking Latin with more purity than Scotch, which these Highlanders sometimes learned after leaving their native homes, where nothing but Gaelic was spoken. The race of Bradwardine is not long extinct. In my own time, several veterans might have sat for the picture, so admirably drawn in Waverley of that most honourable, brave, learned, and kind-hearted personage, the Baron of Bradwardine. These gentlemen returned from the continent, full of warlike Latin, French phrases, and inveterate broad Scotch, (learned, as I have said, by the Highlanders abroad.) One, I believe, of the last of these, Colonel Alexander Robertson, of the Scotch Brigade, uncle of the present Strowan, I well remember.* I also knew

* Another of the Bradwardine character is still remembered by the Highlanders, with a degree of admiration bordering on enthusiasm. This was John Stewart of

several tacksmen of correct learning, who could quote and scan the classics with much ease and rapidity; while the sons of these men are little better than clowns, knowing nothing beyond English reading and the common rules of arithmetic. When the Hessian troops were quartered in Athole in 1745, the commanding officers, who were accomplished gentlemen, found a ready communication, in Latin, at every inn. At Dunkeld, Inver, Blair Athole, Taybridge, &c. every landlord spoke that language, and I have been informed, by eye-witnesses, of the pleasure expressed by a colonel of the Hessian cavalry, when he halted at the inn at Dunkeld, the landlord of which addressed and welcomed him in Latin. I knew four of these respectable innkeepers, a class which, like many other valuable classes in the Highlands, has disappeared. Perhaps the landlords of Dunkeld, Blair-Athole, or indeed any other Highland inn, will not, even in this educated age, agreeably surprise, or make themselves more acceptable to their customers by addressing them in Latin.

But it was in the remotest district of the kingdom, the Isle of Skye, and other islands, that classical education was most general. There the learning of the gentry was quite singular. Few of them went abroad, and except the two great lairds, Macdonald and Macleod, few of them were proprietors. I believe it is rather unique for the gentry of a remote corner to learn Latin merely to talk to each other; yet so it was in Skye. It was remarked that, for a considerable period, the clergymen of the sixteen parishes of Skye and Harris were men of good families, great learning, and consequent influence; their example, therefore, might diffuse and preserve this classical taste. Owing to the same cause, the Isle of Skye songs are sometimes filled with allusions to the heathen deities. While

the family of Kincardine, in Strathspey, known in the country by the name of John Roy Stewart, an accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar and poet, a brave soldier, and an able officer. He composed with equal facility in English, Latin, and Gaelic; but it was by his songs, epigrams, and descriptive pieces in the latter language, that he attracted the admiration of his countrymen. He was an active leader in the Rebellion of 1745, and during "his hiding" of many months, he had more leisure to indulge his taste for poetry and song. The country traditions are full of his descriptive pieces, eulogies, and laments on friends, or in allusion to the events of that unfortunate period. He had been long in the service of France and Portugal, and had risen to the rank of colonel. He was in Scotland in 1745, and commanded a regiment composed of the tenants of his family, and a considerable number of the followers of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, who had been placed under his command. With these, amounting in all to 400 men, he joined the rebel army, and proved one of its ablest partizans. Had the rebel commanders benefited by his judgment and military talents, that deplorable contest would probably have been lengthened, and much additional misery inflicted on the country. Colonel Stewart recommended to oppose the passage of the Duke of Cumberland's army across the Spey. Had this advice been acted upon, allowing for the expeditious movements of the rebels, many men must have been lost in forcing the passage of that rapid river. He also opposed fighting on Culloden Moor, which, with a level and hard surface, was well calculated for the cavalry and artillery of the royal army. When this advice was rejected, he proposed to attack before the army was formed in order of battle; this also was disregarded, and the attack delayed till the royal army was formed into two lines. It is said that the Irish officers attached to the rebel army, dreading a lengthened campaign in the mountains, opposed retiring farther north, seeing that, in such a field as Culloden, with one-third of the Highlanders absent, and those present, two days without food, and after a long and harassing night-march to Nairn and back, with an intention of surprising the Duke's army, (as at Preston,) the contest would soon be decided, and their lives safe from the laws, whatever was the result. The point was fortunately brought to an issue, and much calamity, the consequence of a lengthened civil war, saved to the country.

the younger sons of Highland gentlemen were educated for the church, law, or physic, the elder could not be neglected. The elder brothers of Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate to Charles II. and of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Advocate to George II. could not have been uneducated.

But various causes have contributed to a change of manners, and to remove numbers of the ancient race, and have put an end to all university education, except in a few cases, and where young men are intended for the learned professions; consequently the last generation did not give their children the same education which they themselves had received.* Thus we see young men sent into the army and other professions with an education not extending beyond reading and arithmetic, and with manners as unformed and as unlike the former race of gentlemen farmers in their general appearances and character, as in their education. Hence, many have been led to observe, that the youth of the second order of Highland gentry are more degenerated and more changed in every respect than the Highland peasantry. But there are many causes to accelerate this change; one is, that three-fourths of the old respectable race of gentlemen tacksmen have disappeared, and have been supplanted by men totally different in manners, birth, and education. Persons travelling through the Highlands will see what description of men the present tacksmen are. The character upheld by the officers of the Highland regiments in the Seven Years' War, and in that with America, show what description of men the ancient race were. One half of the officers of those corps were the sons of tacksmen. Of these respectable officers I could give many names, but shall mention only a few. Generals William Fraser, killed at Saratoga in 1777, and Thomas M. Fraser, killed at Dieg in 1804. Lieutenant-General Simon Fraser, commanding the British troops in Lisbon, Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor-General of India, Sir Hector Munro, Sir Alexander Munro; Major-Generals John Small, Thomas Fraser, Francis Maclean, J. Stewart, P. Mackenzie, and a numerous list of brave soldiers and officers of talent and acquirements, as well as many accomplished civilians, the translator of Ossian, &c.

## T. Page 101.

THERE are many traits of the character, manners, and dispositions of the people, which I have not noticed. The most remarkable of these is that imaginary talent of seeing into futurity, commonly called the "Second Sight." The subject has been frequently discussed; and I shall, therefore, say little of these ideal flights of a warm and vivid imagination. But however ridiculous the belief of the second sight may now appear, it certainly had no small influence on the manners and actions of the people. The predictions of the seers impressed their minds with awe, and as they were generally such as brought to the remembrance death, a future state, retributive justice, the reward of honourable and virtuous conduct, and the punishment of the wicked, they certainly controlled the passions, and, as

* The average annual salary of the parish schoolmaster was L. 7, 10s. that is, L.5 the lowest and L. 10 the highest, with school fees, which were equally low, Latin being taught for half a crown the quarter, and English and writing for one shilling. When the Lord President Hope was Lord Advocate, he brought a bill into Parliament to increase the salaries of this useful body of men. The bill was passed, and no schoolmaster can now have less than L. 10 salary, the maximum being L. 25. The opposition Mr Hope met with showed that the value of educating the people was not properly appreciated, for even with the increased emoluments, no man of talents will remain a parish schoolmaster except from necessity.

I have often had occasion to observe, supplied the defect of those laws which now extend to the most distant recesses of the mountains.

The impressions of a warm imagination appear so like realities, and their confirmation is so readily found in subsequent events, that we can scarcely wonder if popular superstitions have long maintained their ground, even against the advances of reason and science. Allowing the possibility of coming events being shadowed forth by supernatural agency to some favoured seers, the question naturally occurs, Why should those revelations be confined to the Highlanders of Scotland? Yet it must be owned, that the coincidences between events and their forebodings have, in many instances, been so curious and remarkable, that credulous minds may be excused for yielding to the impression of their prophetic character. It may not be improper to produce an instance or two for the amusement of the reader.

Late in an autumnal evening in the year 1773, the son of a neighbouring gentleman came to my father's house. He and my mother were from home, but several friends were in the house. The young gentleman spoke little, and seemed in deep thought. Soon after he arrived he inquired for a boy of the family, then about three years of age. When shown into the nursery, the nurse was trying on a pair of new shoes, and complaining that they did not fit. "They will fit him before he will have occasion for them," said the young gentleman. This called forth the chidings of the nurse for predicting evil to the child, who was stout and healthy. When he returned to the party he had left in the sitting-room, who had heard his observations on the shoes, they cautioned him to take care that the nurse did not derange his new talent of the second sight, with some ironical congratulations on his pretended acquirement. This brought on an explanation, when he told them, that, as he approached the end of a wooden bridge thrown across a stream a short distance from the house, he was astonished to see a crowd of people passing the bridge. Coming nearer, he observed a person carrying a small coffin, followed by about twenty gentlemen, all of his acquaintance, his own father and mine being of the number, with a concourse of the country people. He did not attempt to join, but saw them turn off to the right in the direction of the church-yard, which they entered. He then proceeded on his intended visit, much impressed from what he had seen with a feeling of awe; and believing it to have been a representation of the death and funeral of a child of the family. In this apprehension he was the more confirmed, as he knew my father was at Blair, and that he had left his own father at home an hour before. The whole received perfect confirmation in his mind by the sudden death of the boy the following night, and the consequent funeral, which was exactly like that before represented to his imagination.

This gentleman was not a professed seer. This was his first and his last vision; and, as he told me, it was sufficient. No reasoning or argument could convince him that the appearance was an illusion. When a man of education and of general knowledge of the world, as this gentleman was, became so bewildered in his imaginations, and that even so late as the year 1773, it cannot be matter of surprise that the poetical enthusiasm of the Highlanders, in their days of romance and chivalry, should have predisposed them to credit wonders which so deeply interested them.

The other instance occurred in the year 1775, when a tenant of the late Lord Breadalbane called upon him, bitterly lamenting the loss of his son, who, he said, had been killed in a battle on a day he mentioned. His Lordship told him that was impossible, as no accounts had been received

of any battle, or even of hostilities having commenced. But the man would not be comforted, saying, that he saw his son lying dead, and many officers and soldiers also dead around him. Lord Breadalbane, perceiving that the poor man would not be consoled, left him, but when the account of the battle of Bunker's Hill arrived some weeks afterwards, he learnt, with no small surprise, that the young man had been killed at the time and in the manner described by his father.

T. Page 102.

THE notions entertained by the inhabitants of the Low country in this respect are very excusable, when it is considered, that they formed their opinions regarding the natives of the mountains on information received from those who lived nearest the boundary, and who were supposed to be best acquainted with them. This, however, was a very doubtful source of intelligence, because, in the first place, the borderers lived in a state of perpetual contention with their Lowland neighbours, and had thus the worst propensities of their nature called forth and exasperated; and, secondly, because their more powerful neighbours had been, for ages, in the habit of taking deep revenge for petty injuries. No one who knows any thing of human nature need be told, that there exists a strong propensity in the minds of those who oppress others by an undue exercise of power, to justify that proceeding to themselves, by exaggerating every provocation from the objects of their hostility. Prejudice and party hatred are like streams, always enlarging in their progress by petty additions. A man incapable of direct falsehood, willingly and confidently repeats the tales of wonder told by others; and these seldom lose in the recital. That "oppression," which, we are told from the highest authority, "makes a wise man mad," must have produced a similar effect,* on a proud high-spirited people, who had not even language in which to complain, and would not have been listened to if they had. "Lions are not painters," as the fable says, and Highlanders are not writers of their own traditions; but if the tales of wrong and injustice preserved in traditions were unfolded, they then might "make justice and indignation start," &c.; but this blazon must not be. It would be visiting the sins of the fathers on the children, who may perhaps, even on this score, have enough of their own to answer for, when they appear at their last account.

Since the above was written, a new edition of "Letters from a Gentleman in the North" has been published by Mr Jamieson of Edinburgh. This edition has been enlarged, by several tracts and articles on the Highlanders, and the former state of the people. One of these is a kind of statistical report of the state of the Highlands about the year 1747. This paper is a perfect specimen of the spirit of the times, and of the jaundiced eye with which the Highlanders were viewed by their Lowland neighbours, who held them in the greatest contempt for their Jacobite principles,—their heathenish belief in ghosts and fairies,—their slothful habits, fabulous traditions, poetry, and song. The author was educated beyond the mountains, a stranger to the habits and principles of the Highlanders, and at a period when the stream of ribaldry ran strongly against them, and their true character was ill understood, it was difficult to state it in proper colours; and following the commonly received opinions of the times, that their fidelity and ready obedience proceeded from a base and servile disposition, and their idle habits from an aversion to industry,

* Of this we have too many instances among the peasantry in Ireland.

when, in fact, they proceeded from want of employment or payment for labour; had the author given in to the grave discussions which were not unfrequent at that period, on the propriety of exterminating the whole race, it might have excited less surprise, than that this mode of improving a people by extirpation and banishment should not only be discussed in more enlightened times, but actually acted upon and enforced, if not with the fury and violence with which the more powerful party in America treat their unfortunate neighbours the Indians, the original possessors of their country, at least by means sufficiently effectual.

X. Page 105.

Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, was one of the most enlightened men of his time. Born in the Highlands, having lived much among his countrymen, and gained an intimate knowledge of their habits, he obtained, by his virtue, wisdom, and probity, an influence over them almost incredible. His "pen and ink, and tongue, and some reputation," as he himself expressed it, contributed more than any other means to the suppression of the Rebellion,—breaking the union of the clans,—overawing some, crossing and checking the intentions of others, and retarding and preventing their rising *en masse*, to which they had every inclination. That such services were neglected and slighted by government, must remain an indelible stain on the memory of the men at that time in power. It is said, that when this great and good man was recommending clemency and moderation in the punishment of the misguided men who were to suffer for their infatuation, and stating his services as a claim to be heard, he was contemptuously asked, "What were his services, and what they were worth?" "Some think them worth three crowns," was the answer.

Some idea of the value of his services and influence may be formed by looking over his Memorial, already given in the Appendix, of the State and Number of the Clans, whose rising he prevented, or whose exertions he paralysed. It has been thought by some, particularly by Jacobites, that those Chiefs who were persuaded by Culloden to relinquish, on the day of trial, the cause to which they were secretly attached, showed duplicity, if not cowardice, in so doing. This was not at all the case. The President knew too well the character of those whom he addressed, to endeavour to change their opinion, or induce them to dissemble. The arguments by which he prevailed on so many to remain in a quiescent state, while others risked all in a desperate cause, were drawn from his knowledge of the world, and of the resources and views of the opposite parties. He attempted no sudden conversions, but merely represented the folly of sacrificing their lives, and what was dearer to them, their clans, in a rash and unsupported enterprise, in which they were deceived by their French allies, deserted by many whose courage evaporated in drinking healths, and more particularly by the English Jacobites, who promised every thing and performed nothing. It was by a statement of obvious facts, and not by an attack on established principles, that he succeeded in rescuing, by persuasion, so many families from the destruction in which the inconsiderate and rashly brave were so suddenly involved. The sound arguments that prevailed with the Chiefs, who could comprehend them, had no influence on their followers, who were, in this instance, more inclined to follow their feelings than listen to reason. Of this, the behaviour of the clan Grant was an instance. Eleven hundred men pressed forward to offer their services, on condition that their Chief would lead them, to support, what

they styled, the cause of their ancient Kings. Afterwards, when it was found necessary to pay a compliment to the Royal General, by meeting him at Aberdeen, all the Chief's influence could only procure ninety-five followers to attend him; a Chief, too, much beloved by his people.

In the Isle of Skye, likewise, Sir Alexander Macdonald, (father of Chief Baron Macdonald,) and the Lairds of Macleod, Rasay, and others, had 2,400 men ready, when expresses arrived from Culloden. The former remained at home with his men, Macleod obeyed the summons of the President, whose arguments had such influence. Though Macleod is described by this great law officer as the only man of sense and courage he had about him, his influence over his followers failed so completely, when they discovered that his opinion was opposite to their own, that he could not command the obedience of more than 200 men, although upwards of 1,000 men, consisting of his own people, the Laird of Rasay's, and other gentlemen, were ready at Dunvegan Castle. These, and several circumstances which occurred at that period, are of themselves sufficient to prove, that the Highlanders were not those slaves to the caprice and power of their Chiefs that they have been supposed; and that, on the contrary, as I have already noticed, the latter were obliged to pay court, and yield to the will and independent spirit of their clans. These facts also refute a general opinion, that those who engaged in the Rebellion were forced out by their Chiefs and Lairds. In Lord Lovat's correspondence with Culloden, he is full of complaints against his clan, whose eagerness to fly to arms he could not restrain. Although his is not the best authority, I have had sufficient evidence of his correctness in this instance from eye-witnesses. We learn also from the President, that Lord Lovat's eldest son (afterwards General Fraser) "has put himself at the head of his clan, who are passionately fond of following him, and who cannot be restrained by my Lord's authority from following the fortunes of the Adventurous Prince, which not only may destroy the Master* and the family, but bring his own grey hairs with sorrow to the grave." †

To this same independent spirit we may ascribe the preference which the people now manifest for banishment to a foreign land, to remaining in the degraded state of cottars and day-labourers, to which the late changes have reduced such numbers of once independent tenantry. When they resolve to remove to a foreign country, a set of "illiterate peasants have gone about it in a systematical manner. They have themselves chartered a ship, and engaged it to come for them to one of their Highland ports, and a whole cluster of kindred of all ages, from four weeks to fourscore years, have gone in mournful procession to the shores; the bagpipes meanwhile playing before them a sad funeral air." ‡

## Y. Page 107.

A Highlander would fight to the last drop of his blood at the command of his Chief, and if he thought his own honour, or that of his district or clan, insulted, he was equally ready to call for redress, and to seek revenge; yet, with this disposition, and though generally armed, few lives were lost, except in general engagements and skirmishes. This is particularly to be remarked in their personal encounters, duels, and

* In Scotland, the eldest son of a Lord or Baron of the House of Peers was styled Master. Thus, the Master of Gray, the Master of Rollo, the Master of Blantyre, &c.

† Culloden Papers.

‡ Mrs Grant's Superstitions of the Highlanders.

trials of swordmanship. * The stories detailed of private assassinations, murders, and conflagration, deserve no credit, as is well known to every man of intelligence in the country, at least when reported to have occurred within the last century and a half. In earlier times, there were murders in the Highlands, as there were in the streets of Edinburgh in mid-day, but much of these may be attributed to the weakness of the laws, and a high-spirited turbulence. The character of the Highlanders will be better understood by their actions, than by collecting anecdotes two and three hundred years old, and giving them as specimens of what was supposed to have occurred within the fifty years preceding the Rebellion of 1745. In this Rebellion did they display any blood-thirsty atrocity? It were as just to take the character of the people of Scotland from the period and scenes described by Pittscottie in the extract I have quoted, (in page 44, Vol. I.) as thus to collect all the revolting anecdotes and repetitions of centuries, and give them as specimens of the Highland character in the days of Rob Roy Macgregor. Even in the seventeenth century, when turbulence was at its height, less atrocity was shown by the Highlanders, than has been exhibited by enlightened nations of modern times, when living at free quarters in an enemy's country. Spain, Portugal, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Egypt, have ample reason to remember the murders, conflagrations, and spoliation of the armies of France. The following statement shows the manner in which the Highlanders comported themselves, when ordered from their mountains, for the special purpose of keeping down the Republican spirit in the south-west of Scotland, and of living at free quarters on the Covenanters, and others inimical to the measures of Government. This was in 1678, when the "Highland Host," (as they were called,) of 8,000 men, were ordered south, to "eat up" the Covenanters. In what manner they obeyed these instructions we learn from an eye-witness, whose account is preserved in Wodrow's MS. in the Advocates' Library. This writer, who evinces no friendship for this "Heathen and Unholy Host," describes their parties sent out for provisions, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, who were beaten and driven out of their houses if they refused to give what they demanded. After a detail of outrages, which,

* A relation of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Bohallie, afforded an instance of this. He was one of the gentlemen soldiers in the Black Watch, (but left them before the march to England,) and one of the best swordsmen of his time. Latterly he was of a mild disposition, but in his youth had been hot and impetuous; and as in those days the country was full of young men equally ready to take fire, persons of this description had ample opportunity of proving the temper of their swords, and their dexterity in the use of them. Bohallie often spoke of many contests and trials of skill, but they always avoided, he said, coming to extremities, and were in general satisfied when blood was drawn, and "I had the good fortune never to kill my man." His swords and targets gave evidence of the service they had seen. On one occasion he was passing from Breadalbane to Lochlomond through Glenfalloch, in company with James Macgregor, one of Rob Roy's sons. As they came to a certain spot, Macgregor said, "It was here I tried the mettle of one of your kinsmen." Some miles farther on, he continued, "Here I made another of your blood feel the superiority of my sword; and here," said he, when in sight of Benlomond, in the country of the Macgregors, "I made a third of your royal clan yield to clan Gregor." My old friend's blood was set in motion by the first remark; the second, as he said, made it boil; however, he restrained himself till the third, when he exclaimed, "You have said and done enough; now stand and defend yourself, and see if the fourth defeat of a Stewart will give victory to a Gregarach." As they were both good swordsmen, it was some time before Macgregor received a cut in the sword arm, when, dropping his target, he gave up the contest.

indeed, were to be expected, as it was for this very purpose that they were sent on the duty, he concludes, in a manner hardly to be expected, and certainly very different from the accounts we read of the proceedings of the modern Vandals when overrunning the Continent, and who, if they had forced their way into this country, and had been, like the Highlanders, ordered to live at free quarters, "to eat up," harass, and keep down the people, would not perhaps have left the country with such a report of their proceedings as the following. "Yet I hear not," says the writer in Wodrow's MS., "of any *having been killed*, though many were hurt; but I would not have you think that all the Highlanders behave after the same manner," (going about in parties to collect provisions and plunder.) "No, there is a difference both among the men and leaders. The Marquis of Atholl's men are generally commended, both as the best appointed and the best behaved. Neither do I hear of any hurt done by the Earl of Moray's men, but all of them take free quarters, and at their own discretion." Living in this manner, and sent for such a special purpose, none were killed by even the most turbulent. That numbers were hurt in defending their property was to be expected, and it is matter of surprise, that, in such circumstances, lives were not lost.

## Z. Page 119.

THE tenants of Lochiel and Ardsheal supplied these gentlemen with money, after the year 1746, when their estates were forfeited, and they themselves in exile in France. When the Earl of Seaforth was in similar circumstances, after his attainder in 1716, he experienced the same generous and disinterested fidelity; * and Macpherson of Clunie, though an outlaw, living for nine years in caves and woods, was in no want of money or any thing that his people could contribute, who, after his death, continued the same assistance to his widow and family. But it is needless to multiply examples of this attachment, which existed till a late period, without the least prospect of reward or remuneration, all being the free gift of men poor in substance, but of warm affections and liberal minds. Moreover, this generous disposition was not indulged without risk; for while they paid the full rents demanded by Government after the forfeitures, they were threatened with higher rents, and persecuted by the agents for sending the money out of the country. The disputes between the people and the Crown factors, on this subject, ran very high. A respectable gentleman, Mr Campbell of Glenure, factor on the estate of Ardsheal, was shot from behind a rock when riding on the high road. This happened in 1752, and was the second instance of murder in these troublesome times. The first was that of Captain Munro of Culcairn in 1746. He was shot in the same manner, while riding at the head of a party of men marching through Lochaber. But this blow was intended for an officer whose party had, some time previously, burned the assassin's house, and taken

* When the rents were collected, for the purpose of being sent to Lord Seaforth in France, 400 of his old followers and tenants escorted the money to Edinburgh to see it safely lodged in the bank. Their first appearance there on this errand caused no small surprise, and strong animadversions on Government for allowing such proceedings. The same people, so generous to their chief in his adversity, preserved such control over him when in full power and prosperity, that they interfered and prevented him from pulling down his Castle of Braan, the destruction of which they considered derogatory to the respectability of the family and clan.

away his cattle; while his son, who had resisted, was killed. Considering the state of men's minds, and the disturbed condition of the country for so many years, it may be considered as remarkable, that these were the only two instances of premeditated murder. The man who shot Culcairn was known; but, through some unexplained cause, he was not apprehended. It has never been ascertained who shot Mr Campbell. Suspicion fell upon a man of the name of Allan Stewart or Allain Breach, as he was called, from the marks of the small-pox, who had been a serjeant in the French service, had come over in the year of the Rebellion, and lived afterwards as an outlaw. He was never seen after the murder, and was supposed to have gone to France. A gentleman of the name of Stewart, a relation of the family of Ardsheal, was taken up, indicted, and tried at Inveraray, on suspicion of being art and part, (as the Scotch law terms it,) or in the foreknowledge of the murder. The Duke of Argyll, then Justice-General, sat on the bench, the only instance of this officer presiding on any criminal trial. Mr Stewart was found guilty, and executed near the spot where the murder was committed, and his body hung in chains. The whole transaction caused a great sensation, and the justice of the verdict and execution was much canvassed. It is now believed that the result would have been different had the trial taken place at a later period. Whether or not Mr Stewart deserved his fate, it were well that all executions made such an impression on the minds of the people as this did, and still continues to make to this day. The talents and respectable character of the person executed, the public exhibition of his body, a thing hitherto unknown in that country, and the doubtful circumstance of his guilt, are still matters of much deep reflection among the people. On Sundays, and at times when they pass in more than ordinary numbers, they assemble on or near the spot where the gibbet stood, and talk with solemn and impressive awe of the whole circumstances.

Turbulent and accustomed to blood as the Highlanders were supposed to be, the terror and awe inspired by public executions is very remarkable. This awe is not confined within the mountains. I have seen soldiers fearless of death when before an enemy, and yet the same men, for days previous to an execution, became grave, thoughtful, and seemingly powerfully impressed with a kind of dread, which they could not shake off.

## AA. Page 122.

It may be curious to notice the similarity of action among men with very different principles in all things, except what concerns their interests. After the new system of managing lands and laying out farms had commenced in the Highlands, the ancient occupiers and cultivators were often overlooked by those who undertook to new-model gentlemen's estates. *Their* future happiness or misery formed no part of the plans, and seemed as much disregarded as the fate of the ancient breed of horses and sheep. The old Highlanders were considered unfit for the new improvements; the length of time they held their lands gave them no claim; they had possessed them too long already; they must now give place to others. This was the language of many agents employed in these arrangements.—At the beginning of the French Revolution, when Dundee, Perth, and other towns, planted the tree of liberty, and the doctrine of equality of property was held out to encourage followers and supporters, the late Mr Dempster of Dunichen observed, in the spring of 1791, that his farm-grieve, or overseer, had paid

particular attention to a large field, ploughing and harrowing it twice, and laying down a double allowance of manure. He was preparing a third dressing, when Mr Dempster asked the cause of all this care bestowed upon one field more than the others. After some hesitation, the man answered, that every person had a right to attend to his own interest. Mr Dempster observed, that however true that might be, it could have no concern with that field. To this the grieve replied, that, as he had been a kind and generous master to him, he would explain the whole matter. He then told him, that, at a late meeting of Delegates of the Friends of the People, they had discussed much business, and, among other matters, had made a division of all the lands in the district, when this field, and some acres of pasture, fell to his share. His master told him he was happy to find him so well provided, and asked what part of the estate they had allotted to him. "Oh, as to you, Sir, and the other Lairds," replied the man, "it was resolved that you should have nothing to do with the land, and that none of the old Lairds and Proprietors were to have any. They and their families had had these lands long enough, their old notions were not fit for the new times, therefore they must all quit, and make way for the new system and new order of things; but as you have always been so good to me, I will propose, at the next meeting, that a portion be left for you."

BB. Page 132.

On reference to the proceedings of the Court of Justiciary in the northern counties, it will be found that the capital convictions at Inverness, from the year 1747 to 1817, have been fifty-nine. Of these, there were

10 men for murder,
9 women for child-murder, *
2 men for rape; one of them rape and murder near Elgin,
1 man for fire-raising,
12 men for cattle-stealing, †
1 man for sheep-stealing, ‡
2 men for house-breaking and theft,
9 men for theft,
3 men for robbing. ||

Of these criminals eight were strangers, soldiers quartered in the differ-

* This crime is less frequent since the strictness of church discipline has been softened. Only one woman has been condemned since 1763.

† This was at the earlier period, before the nature and danger of "*lifting cattle*," as it was called, was properly understood by the Highlanders. None have been convicted of cattle-stealing since the year 1765. When it was known to be a crime, the practice ceased. Two of the above offenders were in the knowledge of all the Pretender's movements after the battle of Culloden. They gave him information, and supplied him with provisions. They were taken up on suspicion, and threatened to be instantly executed, if they did not confess what they knew of him, and were at the same time offered the tempting reward of L. 30,000. But all in vain. *These men were hanged for stealing a cow!*

‡ This was at a later period, when the stock graziers got possession of the pasture grounds. Many sheep were stolen at that period. Four men were banished for this crime.

|| These were part of the gang under Mackintosh, who robbed Sir Hector Munro. See page 35, Vol. I.

ent garrisons, and others, who committed crimes as they passed through the country, and were apprehended and tried there. This Circuit includes the Lowland part of the counties of Moray and Orkney, (in the latter, crimes of magnitude are most rare,) containing a population of 238,681 souls, out of which there were 59 persons (51 natives) convicted in the course of seventy years, making the proportion of one criminal to 383,080 souls. From 1756 to 1761, and from 1767 to 1773, there were no convictions. From 1773 to 1783 there was only one man convicted; his crime was murder. From 1794 to 1817, there were three convictions for murder, but none for robbery, housebreaking, or any other crime. In May 1817, a woman was condemned for theft.

The feudal powers and jurisdiction of the Duke of Argyle were abolished in the year 1748, and the first assize court was held at Inveraray in May 1749. From that period, till 1817, the number of convictions has been eight. The crimes were,

3 for murder,
1 for cattle-stealing,
3 for theft, (two women, and one man,)
1 man for forgery.

This last case happened in the year 1782. The offender's name was Macaffie. The forgery was committed in Dublin, but attempting to pass his notes in Inverary, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned. On some reserved question of law, however, he was taken to Edinburgh, when the point was decided against him, and he was executed there. If we except this conviction of a stranger, and that of James Fullarton for theft in 1783, there were none condemned at Inverary for a period of fifty-one years, from 1753 to 1804. There have been two convictions for murder since. One in 1805,* another in 1807. The Inverary Circuit includes the counties of Argyle and Bute, containing a population of 82,260 persons.

The population of that part of the Aberdeen Circuit, which may be properly called Highland, and which includes portions of the counties of Kincardine and Banff, amounts to 14,596 persons. From 1747 to 1817, there were two men condemned from that part of the country: one for murder in the year 1770, and another for fire raising in 1785. From 1770 to 1784, there was no capital conviction in Aberdeen.

As the Highland parts of Perthshire constitute but a small part of that Circuit, which comprehends Perth, Fife, and Angus, I shall only notice the native Highlanders tried and condemned at Perth from 1747 to 1817. The number was sixteen, of whom

5 men were convicted for murder,
4 men for cattle-stealing,
4 for theft,
2 women for child-murder,
1 man for rape.

The population of the Highlands of Perthshire is about 40,130, giving a greater proportion of criminals than either of the other circuits.

* This was a travelling tinker from Athole. He was executed for throwing his wife into a river, where she was found drowned, near the King's House Inn, Glenorchy.

Proportion of convicted criminals to the population in the different districts in the Highlands, from 1747 to 1817.

| | Population. | Convictions. | Proportions. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inverness Circuit, - - - - - | 258,681 | 59 in 70 years, | 1 to 285,180 |
| Inveraray, - - - - - - | 82,261 | 8 in 69 | 1 to 709,501 |
| Perthshire Highlands, - - - | 40,150 | 16 in 70 | 1 to 175,569 |
| Aberdeen, Banff, &c. - - - | 14,596 | 2 in 70 | 1 to 510,860 |
| Highlands of Stirling and Dumbarton, | 15,259 | 5 in 70 | 1 to 185,626 |
| All the Highlands, - - - - | 388,982 | 90 | 1 to 301,677 |
| Proportion of England and Wales, for 7 years previous to 1817, - - - | 10,201,280 | 4226 in 7 years, or | 1 to 16,898 |

CC. *vide* GG.

DD. Page 137.

Of this there are numberless proofs in all parts of the Highlands. I remember many old people, who, in their youth, saw corn growing on fields now covered with heather. Among many traditions on this subject, there is one of a wager between my great-grandfather and four Lowland gentlemen. These were the then Mr Smythe of Methven, Sir David Threipland, Mr Moray of Abercairney, and Sir Thomas Moncrieff. The object of the wager was, who could produce a boll of barley of the best quality, my ancestor to take his specimen from his highest farm, and Sir David Threipland not to take his specimen from his low farms on the plains of the Carse of Gowrie, but from a farm on the heights. Marshal Wade, who was then Commander in Chief, and superintending the formation of the Highland roads, was to be the umpire. Methven produced the best barley, Sir Thomas Moncrieff the second, my relation the third, Abercairney the fourth, and Sir David Threipland the fifth and most inferior quality. This happened in the year 1726 or 1727. It is said that the season was uncommonly favourable for high grounds, being hot and dry. The spot which produced the Highland specimen is at the foot of the mountain Shichallain, and is now totally uncultivated, but of a deep rich soil, only requiring climate and shelter with planting to produce the best crops. Some hundred yards farther up the side of the mountain, and more than 1,400 feet above the level of the sea, the traces of the plough are clear and distinct; also the remains of inclosures and mounds of stones, which had been cleared away from the lands, when prepared for cultivation in more ancient times. In the present state of the climate and the country, bare and unsheltered from the mountain-blast, those fields, once smiling with verdure, woods, (the underground roots of which still exist in vast quantities,) and cultivation, now present the aspect of a black desolate waste. This extension of early cultivation was the more necessary from the numerous population, of which there are so many evident traces. Although the more remote ages are called pastoral, the value and importance of cultivation seem to have been well appreciated. Forest trees of large size have flourished on those high mountains, as is fully proved by their remains, which are still seen more than 1,500 feet above the sea. Recent experience, in several instances, has shown, that the Scotch fir and Alpine larch will prosper in those high regions. An experiment to try how far their shelter would improve the climate, so as

* See Reports, Secretary of State's Office, 1817.

to make the soil productive and cultivable, as in former times, would, in the opinion of many intelligent men, be preferable to the modern system of improving our mountains and glens, by removing the ancient hardy race, that have peopled, for so many ages, extensive tracts which are now to be left in the state of nature, never to experience the influence of human industry. These regions might be improved into arable productive soil by humane and considerate proprietors, who retain their people, which are the wealth and capital of the country, and, in the opinion of Sir Humphry Davy, on the Improvement of Moss and Moorland, there is "strong ground to believe that the capital expended (in the Highlands the manual labour of the people is their capital) would, in a very few years, afford a great and increasing interest, and would contribute to the wealth, prosperity, and population of this island."

## EE. Page 148.

It is said that a man is more comfortable as a day-labourer, than as a small farmer. Experience is in opposition to this opinion, in so far as, where we see many thousand labourers become paupers, such is never the case with the occupiers of land. These may be poor and involved in difficulties, but they are never in want of food, or dependent on charitable aid. Ireland is stated as an instance of the misery of small farmers. This is no more a fair example, than that of the people placed on small allotments of moorland in the new mode introduced into the Highlands.

That part of Lord Breadalbane's estate, which is on both sides of Lochtay, contains nearly 11,000 acres of arable woodland and pasture, in sight of the lake, besides the mountain grazing, the whole supporting a population of about 3,120 souls. Were he to divide the 11,000 acres into eight or ten farms, agreeably to the practice now in progress in the Highlands, placing the present population on small lots as day-labourers, would they be so independent as they now are, paying for the lands on the banks of Lochtay, high as they are, and notwithstanding a backward climate, as good a rent as is paid by many farmers in Kent or Sussex? Lord Breadalbane is sensible of this, and preserves the loyal race of men who occupy his land, without having occasion to establish associations for the suppression of felony, as in the north,* or establishing rates for the poor, as has been done in

* When protecting associations are found necessary in the North Highlands, under the new mode of management, I may notice the state of morals in this great property, maintaining a population of more than 8,000 persons in Perthshire, besides 5,000 in Argyleshire. Since the year 1750, there have been only two persons accused of capital crimes in Lord Breadalbane's estate in Perthshire, and both were acquitted. The first was a farmer tried on suspicion of murder.* The second

* He was a married man, who lived at the foot of Ben Lawers. In autumn 1765, a servant girl in his family suddenly disappeared, and no trace of her could be discovered till the following spring, when the shepherds found her body floating in a small lake, nearly half way up the mountain. Owing to the length of time the body lay in the water, no close examination could be made, and no marks of violence were observed: but after the body was found, a report was spread that an improper intimacy, between the deceased and her master, had been observed. On this suspicion he was apprehended and tried at the Perth Circuit Court, and acquitted, as there was no evidence beyond this suspicious report. While he lay in jail, it was broke, and several prisoners made their escape, and as he refused to accompany them, saying he was conscious of his innocence, the circumstance acted powerfully in his favour; he, however, never returned to the country. His family followed him to the Low country, where he settled and died.

the fertile and wealthy counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, &c. Should his Sovereign visit Scotland, and pass through the Earl of Breadalbane's territory, his Lordship might assemble, on a few hours' warning, 2,000 men, in the prime of life, ready to receive his Prince at any of the great passes or entrances into his property, at Taybridge, Glenorchy, or Glenogle. At the head of this loyal and hardy race of men, Lord Breadalbane may welcome his Sovereign, and, pointing to his followers, may say, such men as these are good supporters of the country and the throne, and, while their loyalty, principles, and ancient spirit, are preserved pure and undaunted, they will always be ready to "Follow me" * at the call of their King and Country. †

## FF. Page 171.

To offer an agricultural comparison, taken from a Highland glen, may occasion a smile, but I may be permitted to mention the relative state of two glens high up in the Highlands, both of nearly the same extent and quality of pasture, and arable land, with no difference of climate. The one is full of people, all of whom are supported by the produce. The other glen was once as populous, but is now laid out in extensive grazings, and the arable land turned into pasture. The population of the latter, compared with the former, is as one to fifteen, and the difference of rent supposed to be about four per cent. in favour of the stock-farming glen. But in the populous district, the surface is clearing, the soil improved, and the produce increased, merely by the strength of many hands, without expence to the landlord either in building houses or otherwise. In the grazing glen, the soil remains in a state of nature, and large sums have been expended in building houses for the men of capital. The income-tax being removed, few direct taxes reach them, horses or carts being scarcely at all employed, whereas, in the populous districts, taxes are paid for horses, hearths, dogs, and for the manufactures which the people consume. The stock-farmer ought to send more produce to market than can be spared, where there are so many people to support, but does this additional marketable produce go to the landlord? Perhaps as much of this produce is laid out on the extended mode of living in the family and personal expence of the man of capital, as is consumed by the more numerous but more economical occupiers; but that even they can spare a full proportion, is evident from the rent and taxes they pay, and the money required for their necessary supplies; the land, at the same time, supporting a numerous population, who improve the soil, and give nearly as good rents to the landlord, and pay more taxes; consuming manufactures in the same proportion, and adding to the employment of those who prepare them; and producing from their small spots of land a sufficiency to answer all demands; and, above all, to maintain a robust, active body of men, ready to turn out in defence of the liberty and honour of their country. With all this the earth is cultivated and grain produced, and industry, and the improvements of men, are allowed full play. In the

was Ewan Campbell, (or Laider,) noticed in Appendix II. Macalpine, also mentioned in page 113, Vol. I. was tried for an illegal act, which would have subjected him to the punishment of felony, namely, for wearing the Highland garb.

* See page 29, Vol. I.

† Since writing the above, a meeting of this kind happened in September 1819: 1,238 men of Lord Breadalbane's tenants, in the prime of life, and in the garb of their ancestors, assembled on the lawn in front of Taymouth Castle, when Prince Leopold honoured his Lordship with a visit. The number could have been doubled.

grazing districts, again, with less than one-fifteenth part of this population, few taxes are paid, few manufactures consumed, the soil is left in the state of nature, and the country apparently waste.

Conversing on this point at different times with judicious stock-farmers and graziers of capital, I asked if they could pay a rent equal to that of the small tenants in the populous glens. They answered, "Yes, certainly." Following up this question, I asked if they could pay the rent, still keeping the people, having no cultivation, and turning all the land to pasturage. The answer always was, Certainly not more than half the rent. When further questioned, why then did they turn their own farms to pasturage, when they saw and acknowledged the superior advantage of cultivation? To this the only answer was, That pasturage was more easily managed; that, with ten men and twenty dogs, they would take care of all the sheep and cattle in the glen, which, under cultivation, supported 643 persons. In short, they fully acknowledged, that cultivating the land made this immense difference; but then they could not cultivate the farms without restoring the people, or employing a great many servants. They insisted, at the same time, that pasture is better adapted to wet climates, and more easily managed than cultivated fields, overlooking the strong and acknowledged fact before them, as well as many others of the same tendency. Their concluding argument was, that to improve the soil was the business of the proprietor, not theirs. If gentlemen allowed their lands to remain in a state of nature, without an attempt to improve or continue the cultivation, the loss was the proprietor's, and so long as they got their farms for the rents they could afford to pay in pasture, they asked for no improvements.*

## GG. Page 177.

The funds for the relief of the poor have been stationary in those districts where the inhabitants hold their lands. In the Highlands of Perthshire, even in 1816 and 1817, years of unprecedented pressure on the poor, when great sums were subscribed for their support in the south, there was no increased demand beyond what private benevolence supplied. The clergymen, who have the management and distribution of the funds for the poor, find no clamorous call for charitable aid; on the contrary, they are obliged to search for proper objects, who conceal their wants, suffering every privation, rather than humble themselves to ask for public charity, at the same time that they will gratefully receive private aid from any benevolent or more opulent neighbour. In a letter from a respectable clergyman in Athole on this subject, he says, "I have witnessed many singular instances, and have been astonished and gratified, to see how long poor creatures will struggle with their fate before they submit to that painful degradation. How eminently useful is it to step forward to their aid before the virtuous pride is altogether destroyed, and they are reduced to that last resource which they so justly and greatly dread."

* It may not be irrelevant to state, that, notwithstanding the recent depopulation of the higher glens, their inhabitants have always been more athletic, better limbed, and more independent in their minds, than the inhabitants of the lower glens; the soil in many of the higher glens is deep and rich, and when properly cultivated with lime, manure, and green crops, the corn is strong and productive, failing only in cold and wet autumns. The upper glens on Lord Breadalbane's, as well as those on many other estates, prove the superior appearance of the people and capability of the soil.

Another able and zealous clergyman writes: "I must always search for objects of charity in my parish. When questioning individuals on their state, I have seen a blush of shame and confusion spread over their countenances; and while they endeavoured to conceal their wants, and pointed out to me others more needful, I knew that they were in great necessity."

In the parish of Mouline, containing a population of 1,947 souls, there are thirteen poor receiving permanent relief, and eleven occasional assistance, but no itinerant beggars in the parish. Indeed, the fund could not afford much, as the amount has not exceeded L. 22, 10s. on the average of the last five years. To this may be added the interest of small sums bequeathed by benevolent individuals some years ago. In the parish of Dull, with a population of 4,236 persons, the number of poor is sixty-one, assisted by a fund of L. 92, 15s. annually. Weem parish has no itinerant beggars out of a population of 1,484 souls. The amount of the funds is L. 24, 10s., on an average of five years, and the number of poor on the same average fifteen persons. In the parish of Logierait, the poor have lessened in late years, when there was a great increase of them in the Northern Highlands. The number of inhabitants is 3,015, with little variation for several years. In 1812, the paupers were forty-one, and in 1817, the number was thirty-two persons. Dr Smith, in his "General Survey of the County of Argyle, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture," in speaking of the poor of Argyleshire, says, "The number supported by private or public contributions or otherwise is, in general, very inconsiderable, as they have a modesty and spirit that makes them endure absolute want before they can bring themselves to the mortification of receiving any public aid. This innate disposition keeps them from being any where a burden. In the island of Tyrie, in Argyleshire, there are 2,446 persons, with fifty paupers. In the island of Coll, the number is 1,193, and thirty-four poor receive aid. The annual distribution to each individual from the poor's fund is 3s." With such a fund, it is absurd to speak of the allowance to a pauper as a support.

## HH. Page 179.

THE excuse for this manner of letting lands by auction is, that landlords cannot otherwise ascertain the value of their property. But are those who are thus called upon to offer the proper value the best judges? They are, in general, either the tenant in possession, distracted with anxious dread of being turned out, and, therefore, ready to give any rent rather than move from the scene of his past happiness; or it may be a speculator, supported by credit, without property to lose, who will risk any rent, in the expectation that fortune and favourable seasons will enable him to work his way; if he fails, he is no worse off than before, nay, perhaps, richer, as part of his creditors' money may remain in his hands; or, lastly, it may be a stranger from a distant country, ignorant of the quality of the soil and of its proper management, in an elevated country, and a boisterous uncertain climate. It is said, that while people are ready to take farms, the rent cannot be too high, and the landlord is justifiable in taking the best offer. In the same manner, it has been said, that while there are numberless candidates for army commissions, the pay of subalterns is not too small. That the pay of a subaltern is too small, I well know by years of hard experience, and I believe the numberless candidates are rather urged by a predilection for the profession, and by their want of other employment, than tempted by the sufficiency of military emolu-

ments. From the same cause, and from the same desire of obtaining a settlement, candidates are induced to bid for land at whatever rent. Were it the practice to set up commissions to public sale to the highest bidder, or by secret and rival offers, the money to be paid in annual instalments, like the rents, instead of the whole down, thus affording some hope, that the delay would enable them to pay all, there is no doubt that the price of commissions would quickly augment; but what would be the consequence? Certain ruin to the unfortunate purchasers; their spirit broken down by poverty, their morals unhinged, and, in the hope of retrieving their difficulties, gambling, and other practices, discreditable to themselves and their profession resorted to. But, happily for the honour of the army, the destruction of principle consequent on such proceedings was foreseen and guarded against, and all officers are strictly prohibited from giving more than the price established by regulations for their commissions. A different system would quickly ruin the army; and it is no less destructive and subversive of the best principles of the cultivators of the land, who have hitherto been conspicuous for their primitive manners and integrity.

Although all my observations apply to the Highlands only, I may take examples from the Lowlands, and give that of a nobleman whose character adds lustre to his high rank, and who, after having proved himself one of the most illustrious and able commanders of his country, when fighting her battles, has now, when his services in the field are no longer necessary, shown himself equally great, judicious, and generous, in the management of his almost princely estate, to which he succeeded a few years ago. The former leases were let by public advertisement and acceptance of the highest offer; accordingly, great rents were promised, but irregularly paid, and sometimes by sequestrations. Tormented and disgusted with these proceedings, and shocked at the distress and deteriorated character and principles of the tenants, who were resorting to discreditable shifts to meet demands they could not fairly answer, he determined to act agreeably to the dictates of his honourable mind. As the terms of the leases expired, he called for no secret offer, he employed no land valuator or agent, he did not offer his farms by public advertisements; he examined every farm himself, and calculated the produce, and thus was personally able to ascertain how far the former rents were the cause of the failures and defalcations; he fixed the new rents at a reduction of the old, on an average of thirty per cent., although some were raised. So injudicious were the former rents, that while some were far beyond their value, others were too low. Every tenant obtained his own farm, except two, who, by their offers, were partly the cause of the former injudicious augmentations. The tenants can now bear up under low prices and taxes, as their moderate rents enable them to meet unfortunate contingencies, and their generous landlord is secured in a regular income, thus making him as independent as he made his tenants.

## II. Page 201.

INSTANCES are common in the Highlands, even to this day, of the influence of public opinion operating as a powerful restraint on crimes, nay, even as a punishment, to the extent of forcing individuals into exile. Two occurred within my own remembrance. Several years ago, two men, one old and the other young, stepped into a small boat to cross Loch Tay. On the middle of the lake they were seen to stand up, as if struggling, and then quickly to sit or fall down, the people from the distance could

not distinguish which. When the boat arrived at the shore, the young man was missing. The account which his aged companion gave was, that the youth was in liquor, and wished to quarrel with him, and got up in the boat to strike him, but his foot slipped and he fell overboard. This story was not believed. The man was sent to Perth jail, tried at the ensuing assizes, and acquitted for want of evidence. The impression of his guilt, however, was not to be effaced from the minds of the people. This belief was farther confirmed by the character of the man, who was quarrelsome and passionate. On his return to Breadalbane no person would speak to him. He was not upbraided for his supposed guilt, nor was any attempt made to insult or maltreat him; but he found every back turned upon him, and every house he entered instantly emptied of its inhabitants. He withstood this for a short time, when he left the country, and never returned, or was seen afterwards. I was present at this man's trial. His name was Ewen Campbell, or Ewen Laider, or the Strong, from his great strength. The other instance happened some years afterwards in Strathbrane, the most southern valley in the Perthshire Highlands. The circumstances were in part similar to those which occasioned the late proposed trial by wager of battle in the case of Thornton, accused of the murder of Mary Ashford. A young woman was found drowned in a small pool of water used for steeping flax, having considerable marks of violence on the body, and traces of struggling being discovered on the grass round the pool. There was not a doubt but she was murdered and forced into the water. Suspicions fell upon a young man supposed to have been her sweetheart. He was sent to Perth jail, tried, and acquitted for want of proof. In the minds of the people, however, there was proof sufficient. He happened to reach home late on a Saturday night, and next morning went to church, and took his seat in one end. In a moment he had it wholly to himself. Every person moved away to a distance, and left the whole range of seats empty. When he came out after service, and stood in the church-yard, all shunned him, and when he walked homewards, those that were in his front hurried on, and those behind walked slow, leaving the road to himself. This was too much to bear, and his resolution not holding out so long as the old man's, he disappeared that night, and, like him, has never since been heard of.

The laws are now sufficiently strong to punish all crimes in the Highlands. When such was not the case, these were the institutions and habits of thinking which these illiterate people established for themselves, to punish and to prevent transgressions.

## KK. Page 206.

To extend the means of education, a knowledge of the Scriptures, and a consequent regard to religion and moral duties, great improvements have lately been made by the humane beneficence of individuals, who have raised a fund for the support of Gaelic schools, and have thus enabled the natives to read the Scriptures in a language which they understand. As the best books only are published in that language, the principles of the people will be protected from the contamination of seditious and improper tracts, and the advantages of education will be unmixed with the danger that threatens their best principles, by the abuse of those blessings which ought to be the result. The means of educating the Highlanders in the early part of the last century, and of instructing them in religious knowledge, do not seem to have been well

applied or well conducted. The established clergy were directed to preach and exhort in English, and schoolmasters to teach in the same language. Thus, while the parishioners were compelled to listen to discourses and prayers of which they did not comprehend one sentence, their children were taught to pronounce and run over their letters with as little instruction. In conformity to this system, patrons of Highland parishes have, in many cases, appointed ministers from the Lowlands, totally ignorant of the only language understood by the parishioners. In the year 1791, a Highland parish in Aberdeenshire appealed to the General Assembly, against the appointment of a clergyman whose language they did not understand. But the Assembly sustained the appointment. Yet, while religious knowledge was, in these cases, placed beyond the reach of the Highlanders, by those whose bounden duty it was to afford them every facility to acquire it, the state of religion, and the clear notions the people entertained of their religious duties, are very remarkable, particularly when those disadvantages, the scarcity of clergymen, their ignorance of the Gaelic language, and the generally great extent of the parishes, are taken into consideration. The indifference shown to their religious instruction at the Reformation is well known. At that period, two, three, and in some cases four parishes, were united into one, and numberless chapels were destroyed. * Tracts of forty or fifty miles in extent were then left without a church or minister of the gospel.

Although there are many thousands unable to read, and many more unable to understand what they read, (in English,) the advantages of education, when combined with temporal comforts, are well understood, and when allowed to go hand in hand, they have answered the most sanguine expectations. In this manner, we see men, in the lowest situations as cottagers, giving an education to their children, which fits them for any profession. Many men of my intimate acquaintance, educated in this manner, have been, and now are, eminent in different learned professions. Others give equal promise. These men acquired the religious and moral habits, which paved the way to their present eminence, from their poor but well-principled parents. The number of persons thus educated from the poorest class of the people is, I believe, unparalleled. This commendable trait of character may be considered as part of that chivalrous spirit which animated the clans, and which, amidst poverty and frequent violations of law and regular government, developed many honourable points of character.

But to return to religious knowledge. They who suppose that knowledge is only acquired from books, will find some difficulty in believing that in the Highlands, men without any education, or any language but their own, can give a clear account of their faith. With a memory rendered tenacious and accurate, by their inability to read, they acquire a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, and on reference to any important passage, will readily point out the chapter and verse. Not only can they repeat whole chapters from recollection, but even recollect the greatest part of a sermon. Men of this kind were not to be found in every family, but they were frequent; and by a free communication of their acquirements, have greatly contributed to considerable intelligence, both civil and

* The churches of the neighbouring parishes of Fortingall in Perthshire, and Lismore in Argyleshire, are 78 miles distant. The parish of Appin was suppressed and annexed to Lismore, and Kilchonnan annexed to Fortingall. Nine chapels were totally suppressed. Four parishes were united under one clergyman at Blair Athole. Similar instances are frequent in the Highlands and Isles.

religious. But, as education extends, this faculty of a tenacious memory must diminish. When a man can find what he wishes to know by turning up a book, he need not be at the trouble of retaining it in his memory. As education is becoming so general, it is to be hoped, that moral principles will be preserved and combined with increase of knowledge, and that the people will read and comprehend the Scriptures with at least the same advantage and instruction as when they were taught and explained by zealous and able clergymen, and by such intelligent persons as I have just noticed.

## LL. Page 220.

THAT Highlanders may be rendered useless, and their best military qualities destroyed, by want of attention to their peculiar habits, was exemplified in the reign of Charles I., when two potent rivals, the Marquis of Montrose and the Marquis of Argyle, taking opposite sides in the Rebellion, each commanded an army of Highlanders. Montrose, whose numbers were on every occasion very inferior, never lost a battle. Argyle, with Highlanders equally brave, was constantly worsted. Haughty and overbearing, he kept aloof from his people, (who honoured him as their Chief, but could not love him as a man,) and disregarded those courtesies by which a Highlander can be so easily managed. Montrose, on the contrary, knew every soldier in his army, and, while he flattered them by his attention to their songs, genealogies, and traditions, and by sharing in all their fatigues and privations, he roused them to exertions almost incredible. So extraordinary were the marches which he performed, that, on many occasions, the appearance of his army was the first notice the enemy had of his approach; and of his retreats, the first intelligence was, that he was beyond their reach. Before the battle of Inverlochay in February 1645, when the Marquis of Argyle had 3,000 men, and Montrose only 1,600, the latter marched thirty miles by an unfrequented route, across the mountains of Lochaber, during a heavy fall of snow, and came at night in front of the enemy, when they believed him in another part of the country. "The moon shone so clear, that it was almost as light as day; they lay upon their arms the whole night, and, with the assistance of the light, they so harassed each other with slight alarms and skirmishes, that neither gave the other time to repose. They all earnestly wished for day, only Argyle, more intent on his own safety, conveyed himself away about the middle of the night, and having very opportunely got a boat, escaped the hazard of a battle, choosing rather to be a spectator of the prowess of his men, than share in the danger himself. Nevertheless, the chiefs of the Campbells, who were indeed a set of very brave men, and worthy of a better chief, and a better cause, begun the battle with great courage. But their first ranks discharging their muskets only once, Montrose's men fell in upon them furiously sword in hand, with a great shout, and advanced with such great impetuosity, that they routed the whole army, and put them to flight, and pursued them for about nine miles, making dreadful slaughter all the way. There were fifteen hundred of the enemy slain, among whom were several gentlemen of distinction of the name of Campbell, who led on the clan, and fell on the field of battle too gallantly for their dastardly chief. Montrose, though an enemy, pitied their fate, and used his authority to save and give quarter to as many as he could. In this battle Montrose had several wounded, but he had none killed but three privates, and Sir

Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airley, while Argyle lost the Lairds of Auchenbreck, Glenaddell, and Lochnell, with his son and brother, and Barbreck, Inneraw, Lamont, Silvercraigs, and many other prisoners." *

Spalding, in his "History of the Troubles," states, that "there came direct from the committee of Edinburgh certain men to see Argyle's forwardness in following Montrose, but they saw his flight in manner foresaid. It is to be considered that few of this army had escaped if Montrose had not marched the day before the fight twenty-three miles, (Scotch miles,) on little food, and crossed sundry waters, wet and weary, and standing in wet and cold the hail night before the fight." Similar to this were six successive battles fought by Montrose, the loss on his side being equally small, and that on the side of the Covenanters proportionably great. In those instances we find a body of men very inferior in numbers, of whom the Highlanders constituted the main strength, carry all before it, when commanded by a man of high military genius, to which he united, in a very eminent degree, the useful talent for properly understanding the character of those he commanded, and accommodating himself to their peculiar habits.

At the battle of Aldearn, a few weeks after that at Inverlochay, Campbell, Laird of Lawers, although upwards of seventy years of age, fought on the side of the Covenanters with a two-handed broadsword, till himself, and four out of six sons who were with him in the field, fell on the ground on which they stood. Such was the enemy which the genius and talents of Montrose overcame.

On that occasion the left wing of Montrose's army was commanded by his able auxiliary Macdonell, or Maccoull, (as he is called in Gaelic,) still celebrated in Highland tradition and song for his chivalry and courage. An elevation of the ground separated the wings. Montrose received a report that Macdonell's wing had given way, and was retreating. He instantly ran along the ranks, and called out to his men that Macdonell was driving the enemy before him, and unless they did the same, the other wing would carry away all the glory of the day. His men instantly rushed forward, and charged the enemy off the field, while he hastened with his reserve to the relief of his friend, and recovered the fortune of the day.

## MM. Page 222.

As instances of the disposition of the Highlanders for war, and of the facility with which, in the most untoward circumstances, they comprehended and executed very difficult operations, I give the following details of some occurrences in Athole during the Rebellion of 1745. The actors were a few country gentlemen and their tenants, none of whom had ever faced an enemy till the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk. Some time previous to the month of March 1746, when the district of Athole was garrisoned by the 21st, or Scotch Fusileers, and another regiment under the command of the veteran Sir Andrew Agnew, with a battalion of the Campbells, or Argyleshire Highlanders, Lord George Murray, commander-in-chief of the rebel army, wishing to dislodge those troops, marched from Inverness-shire into Athole, with a battalion of the Athole brigade, and, as they passed through Badenoch, took along with him 300 Macphersons, under their chief the Laird of Clunie. Halting opposite Lochgarry, near the confines of Athole, on the evening of the 16th of March, he divided his men into a number of parties, and sent them off by differ-

* Bishop Wishart's Memoirs.

ent routes to attack and surprise all the posts occupied by the King's troops; many of the gentlemen's houses in the country, besides other stations, having small garrisons. Lord George marched to the Bridge of Bruar, two miles west from Blair Castle, the head quarters of Sir Andrew Agnew, and waited the return of his detached parties. About break of day, and before any of them had joined at the place of rendezvous, he was informed, as related by Home in his History of the Rebellion, that "Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who it was that had attacked his posts. When Lord George and Clunie received this notice, they had along with them only twenty-five private men, and some elderly gentlemen. They consulted together what should be done. Some advised that they should make the best of their way to Drummachtor, others were of opinion that it would be better to mount the hills that were nearest, and make their retreat where they could not be followed. Lord George differed from all who gave this opinion. "If I quit my post, (said he,) all the parties I have sent out will fall into the hands of the enemy. It was day-light, but the sun was not up. Lord George looking earnestly about him, observed a fold dike, (that is, a wall of turf,) which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished. He ordered his men to follow him, and draw up behind the dike, at such a distance one from another, that they might make a great show, having the colours of both regiments flying in the front. He then gave orders to the pipers (for he had with him the pipers both of the Atholemen and Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed on the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear, to strike up with all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiments came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy pibrochs. Lord George and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drawing their swords, brandished them about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing a while at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about, and marched them back to the Castle of Blair. Lord George kept his post till several of his parties came in, and as soon as he had collected three or four hundred men, conscious of victory, and certain that his numbers would very soon be greater, he marched to Blair, and invested the castle. When all the parties had come in and made their report, it appeared that no less than twenty posts, great and small, had been attacked between three o'clock and five in the morning, and all of them carried." * Here we have a body of men taken from their ploughs, or from tending their sheep and cattle, and commanded by a few country gentlemen, without the least military experience, and with nothing but the natural genius for war which marked the Highland character of that age, planning and successfully executing a combination of attacks and surprises of posts, several of which were strong and defensible, being ancient houses of gentlemen,

* My grandfather's house was one of those attacked on that night. It was garrisoned by a captain and 100 men of the 21st regiment, and a detachment of the Argyle Highlanders. The rebels rushed on the picquets, and took them prisoners without the least noise. Proceeding to the stables and out-houses, where some of the men slept, they seized upon them in succession. Those in the house knew not what passed till they heard the noise, and saw the court in front of the house full of men, threatening to set it on fire if they did not surrender. After some parley they capitulated without a person being hurt on either side, except an unlucky girl, the daughter of one of the drummers of the 21st regiment, who slept in the house. When she heard the noise, she ran to one of the windows to look out, and being mistaken in the dark for an enemy, she was killed by a shot from the outside. The party who attacked was commanded by Mr Stewart of Bohallie, whom I have frequently mentioned.

having thick walls, small windows, and loop-holes, and being defended by disciplined troops. Their operations were conducted with such secrecy, dispatch, and address, and each party marched with such precision to the different points of attack, that the whole were carried within the hours appointed, although they had to cross rapid rivers, high mountains, and deep glens, and although several of the posts were many miles asunder.

## NN. Page 227.

This nobleman, although of Lowland extraction, had been bred a Highlander. He was educated by John Duke of Argyle, in whose castle of Inveraray he passed his early years. He entered the army as Ensign in the Foot Guards in 1723. In 1733, he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1739 was appointed to the command of the new Highland regiment.

In the years 1738 and 1739 he had served as a volunteer in the Russian and Imperial service in the wars against the Turks. At the battle of Crotzla, in Hungary, in July 1739, he was severely wounded in different parts of the body, and left on the field. When discovered, he was carried to Belgrade, where he remained some months, but never sufficiently recovered from the effects of his wounds.

The moment he was able to move, his active mind not allowing him to be idle, he joined the army in Flanders in 1741, where he was appointed Adjutant-General, and proved himself a most enterprising, intelligent, and successful partizan, ever on the alert, procuring the best information, counteracting the plans, and cutting off the supplies, of the enemy. He was no less discerning in penetrating into their designs, than fearless and judicious in the attack, and displayed the greatest presence of mind in extricating himself from any unexpected difficulty. *

* "Lord Crawfurd, so remarkable for his courage, and thirst of glory, exhibited a marked instance of presence of mind on the morning of the battle of Rocoux, on the 1st October 1746, where Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawfurd and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct. Accompanied by some volunteers, and by his aid-de-camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, he had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, and fell in with one of their advanced guards. The serjeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the Earl first perceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the serjeant, and assuming the character of a French General, told him in that language that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties, and being answered in the negative, "Very well," said he, "be upon your guard, and if you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sustained." So saying, he and his company retired before the serjeant could recollect himself from the surprise occasioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake, for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army. The Prince of Imgray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with Marshal Count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with his compliments to his old friend the Earl of Crawfurd. He wished his Lordship joy of being a French General, and said he could not help being displeased with the serjeant, as he had not procured him the honour of his Lordship's company to dinner." *

* Smollett's Continuation of Hume.

Rolt, in his Life of the Earl of Crawfurd, after recapitulating his numerous and important services, proceeds:

"From what has thus been represented, it is evident that the Earl of Crawfurd was born a soldier, and it was his ambition to die as such in the field of battle. His person was of middle size, well shaped, finely proportioned, and very strong. His generosity was equal to his bravery, as many distressed widows of officers have experienced. His temper was serene and dispassionate. His judgment strong, his discernment penetrating, he was splendid in his retinue, but temperate at his table, so that he was completely formed for a great commander. His Lordship had a most exact eye in the surveying of grounds, and a wonderful quickness in discovering the strength or weakness of his situations, either for encamping an army to such an advantage that it could not be attacked or annoyed without manifest loss to the assaulters, or from attacking an enemy that was encamped with the greatest advantage the ground could afford."

Lord Crawfurd's military genius was much improved by John Duke of Argyle, with whom he lived when absent from his studies. He was much at Inveraray, where, along with his warlike accomplishments, he acquired the language of the country, and became attached to the people, their manners, and their dress: "He was not more remarkable for his elegance in dancing than in his noble way of performing the Highland dance, habited in that dress, and flourishing a naked broadsword to the evolutions of the body, which is somewhat similar to the Pyrrhic dance." * He was so celebrated for his performance, that he was requested to perform before his Britannic Majesty, which he did at a numerous court, to the great satisfaction of the King and company. He also performed it at the request of General Linden, before a grand assembly at Cormorra, in Hungary, when he was habited in the dress of that country, which became the dance extremely well, when his Lordship gave them infinite pleasure."

In March 1747, Lord Crawfurd married Lady Jane Murray, daughter of the Duke of Atholl, but she did not live beyond the following October, and he died in December 1749, in consequence of the breaking out of his wounds, which indeed had never been properly healed. His active mind allowing no rest to his weakened body, his constitution sunk under the exertion.

## QQ. Page 255.

At this period the celebrated Dr Adam Ferguson was chaplain to the Highland regiment. When the regiment was taking its ground in the morning of the battle, Sir Robert Munro perceived the chaplain in the ranks, and, with a friendly caution, told him there was no necessity for him to expose himself to unnecessary danger, and that he ought to be out of the line of fire. Mr Ferguson thanked Sir Robert for his friendly advice, but added, that, on this occasion, he had a duty which he was imperiously called upon to perform. Accordingly, he continued with the regiment during the whole of the action, in the hottest of the fire, praying with the dying, attending to the wounded, and directing them to be carried to a place of safety. By his fearless zeal, his intrepidity,

* This dance was called Makinorsair. I have seen it performed by old men, but it has now disappeared. As arms were not in use in later times, an oaken staff supplied the place of the sword.

and his friendship towards the soldiers, (several of whom had been his school-fellows at Dunkeld,) his amiable and cheerful manners, checking with severity when necessary, mixing among them with ease and familiarity, and being as ready as any of them with a poem or heroic tale, he acquired an unbounded ascendancy over them. Such chaplains as Dr Ferguson are rarely to be met with, but as many pious and exemplary clergymen may be procured, it is matter of regret that this office has been lately dispensed with. It has been said that chaplains were frequently men of immoral characters, who, by their profligate example, were more calculated to do evil than good. As this must have proceeded from an improper choice, it may be supposed that if due precautions were observed, and the pay of the chaplains increased in the same proportion as the surgeons, pious, able, and learned men would enter an honourable service, where their income would render them independent, and where their religious and moral instructions, enforced by their own example, would influence the conduct, and prove highly beneficial to every rank under their charge.

'This regiment was peculiarly fortunate in the choice of chaplains made for them by Lord John Murray while he commanded. These were Dr Ferguson, Messrs James and John Stewart, for the two second battalions, raised in 1758 and 1780, and Mr Maclagan, afterwards minister of Blair Athole, than whom, perhaps, the Highlands of Scotland could not have produced a successor more worthy of Dr Ferguson, or a chaplain better qualified for the Highland regiment.

*Letters of Service for forming the Highland Regiment from the Independent Companies of the Black Watch.*

GEORGE R.—Whereas we have thought fit, that a regiment of foot be forthwith formed under your command, and to consist of ten companies, each to contain one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and one hundred effective private men; which said regiment shall be partly formed out of six Independent Companies of foot in the Highlands of North Britain, three of which are now commanded by captains, and three by captain-lieutenants. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that one serjeant, one corporal, and fifty private men, be forthwith taken out of the three companies commanded by captains, and ten private men from the three commanded by captain-lieutenants, making one hundred and eighty men, who are to be equally distributed into the four companies hereby to be raised; and the three serjeants and three corporals, draughted as aforesaid, to be placed to such of the four companies as you shall judge proper; and the remainder of the non-commissioned officers and private men, wanting to complete them to the above number, to be raised in the Highlands with all possible speed; the men to be natives of that country, and none other to be taken.

This regiment shall commence and take place according to the establishment thereof. And of these our orders and commands, you, and the said three captains and the three captain-lieutenants commanding at present the six Independent Highland Companies, and all others concerned, are to take notice, and to yield obedience thereunto accordingly.

Given at our Court at St James's, this 7th day of November 1739, and in the 13th year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed) WM. YONGE.

*To our Right Trusty and Right Well-Beloved Cousin, John Earl of Crauford and Lindsay.*

## No. I.

*Return of Killed and Wounded of the 43d Regiment, or Black Watch, now 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the first formation, in the year 1740, to 1815, distinguishing the Number in each War.*

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| WAR ENDING 1748. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, - - | | 1 | 1 | | | 30 | | 1 | 2 | | | 86 |
| L'Orient, September 1746, - - | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | 5 |
| Hulst, May 1747, - - - | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | 11 |
| South Beveland, May 1747, - | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | 5 |
| Total, - - | | 1 | 1 | | | 40 | | 1 | 2 | | | 107 |
| SEVEN YEARS' WAR. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ticonderoga, July 7, 1750, - - | 1 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 2 | 297 | | 5 | 12 | 16 | | 306 |
| Martinique, January 1759, - - | | | | | | 8 | | | 1 | 2 | | 22 |
| Guadaloupe, February and March 1759, | | | 1 | 1 | | 25 | | | 4 | 3 | | 57 |
| General Amherst's expedition to the Lakes, July and August 1759, | | | | | | 3 | | | | 1 | | 4 |
| Martinique, January and Feb. 1762, | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 12 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 72 |
| Havannah, June and July 1762, - | | | | | | 6 | | | | | 1 | 12 |
| Expedition, under Colonel Bouquet, to Fort Pitt in August 1763, - | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 26 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 30 |
| Second expedition, under Brigadier-General Bouquet, in 1764 and 1765, | | | | | | 7 | | | | 1 | | 19 |
| Total, - - | 1 | 3 | 9 | 12 | 2 | 384 | 1 | 7 | 25 | 22 | 4 | 522 |
| AMERICAN WAR. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Long Island and Brooklyne, August 22 and 27, 1776, - - - | | | | | | 5 | | | 1 | 1 | | 19 |
| York Island, September 16, 1776, | | | | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 47 |
| Fort Washington, Nov. 16, —— | | | | 1 | 1 | 10 | | | 3 | 4 | 1 | 66 |
| Black Horse, Delaware, Dec. 22, —— | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 6 |
| Amboy, February 13, 1777, (grenadier company,) - - - - | | | | | | 3 | | | | 3 | | 17 |
| Pitscatua, May 10, 1777, - | | | | 3 | | 9 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 35 |
| Brandy Wine, Sept. 11, —— - | | | | | | 6 | | | | 1 | | 15 |
| Germantown, October 5, ——, (light company,) - - - - - | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Jersey's skirmishing, March 22, 1778, | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Monmouth, June 28, —— - | | | | 2 | | 20 | | | 1 | 1 | | 17 |
| Elizabethtown, Jersey, Feb. 26, 1779, (skirmishing,) - - - | | | | | | | | | | | | 9 |
| Charlestown, April and May 1780, | | | 1 | | | 12 | | 1 | | | | 14 |
| Jerseys, March 26, 1781, (skirmishing,) | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Yorktown, Virginia, September and October 1781, (light company,) - | | | | 1 | | 5 | | | | | | 6 |
| Total, - - | | | 1 | 9 | 1 | 74 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 17 | 2 | 257 |

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Serjeants. | Drummers and Pipers. | Rank and File. |
| FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nieuport, November 1793, - - | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| Gildermalsen, January 1795, - - | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 7 |
| Banks of the Waal, Jan. —— - | | | | | | 2 | | | 1 | | | 7 |
| St Lucia, April and May 1796, - | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 2 |
| St Vincent, June —— - - | | | | 2 | | 12 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 29 |
| Do. Aug. and Sept. —— - - | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | 7 |
| Egypt, March 8, 1801, - - | | | | | | 31 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 140 |
| Do. 13, —— - - | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 |
| Do. 21, —— - - | 1 | | 5 | | | 48 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 6 | | 247 |
| Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809, - - | | | | 1 | 1 | 36 | | 3 | 3 | 1 | | 104 |
| Fuentes de Honor, May 3 and 5, 1811, (second battalion,) - - | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 2 | | 27 |
| Salamanca, June 22, 1812, - | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Burgos, Sept. 19, and Oct. 30, —— | | | 3 | 2 | | 44 | | 3 | 3 | 11 | 1 | 230 |
| Nivelle, November 10, 1813, - | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 23 |
| Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9, —— | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 11 |
| Orthes, February 27, 1814, - | | | | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | | 85 |
| Toulouse, April 10, —— - - | | 1 | 3 | 3 | | 47 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 14 | 1 | 231 |
| Total from 1793 to 1814, | 1 | 2 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 235 | 5 | 15 | 41 | 50 | 7 | 1159 |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815, - | 1 | | 2 | 2 | | 40 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 213 |
| Waterloo, —— 18, —— - | | | | | | 5 | | 1 | 4 | 6 | | 33 |
| Total Quatre Bras and Waterloo, - | 1 | | 2 | 2 | | 45 | 1 | 6 | 13 | 20 | 1 | 246 |
| RECAPITULATION. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total of the War ending in 1748, - | | 1 | 1 | | | 40 | | 1 | 2 | | | 107 |
| Seven Years' War, - | 1 | 3 | 9 | 12 | | 384 | 1 | 7 | 25 | 22 | 4 | 522 |
| American War, - | | | 1 | 9 | 3 | 74 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 17 | 1 | 257 |
| French Revolutionary War, from 1793 to 1814, | 1 | 2 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 235 | 5 | 15 | 41 | 50 | 7 | 1159 |
| Quatre Bras and Waterloo, | 1 | | 2 | 2 | | 45 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 20 | 1 | 246 |
| Total killed and wounded from the year 1740 to the year 1815, - | 3 | 6 | 25 | 34 | 4 | 778 | 8 | 32 | 90 | 109 | 13 | 2291 |

*Names of Officers Killed and Wounded of the 43d Regiment, or Black Watch, now the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the year* 1740 *to* 1815.

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | WOUNDED. |
|---|---|---|
| WAR ENDING 1748. | | |
| Fontenoy, May 11, 1745, | Captain John Campbell of Carrick.<br>Ensign Lach. Campbell. | Captain Robert Campbell of Kinab.<br>Ensign Ronald Campbell.<br>Ja. Campbell of Glenfalloch. |
| SEVEN YEARS' WAR. | | |
| Ticonderoga, July 7, 1758, | Major Duncan Campbell of Inneraw.<br>Capt. John Campbell.<br>Lieut. Geo. Farquharson.<br>H. Macpherson.<br>William Baillie.<br>John Sutherland.<br>Ens. Patrick Stewart of Bonskeid.<br>George Rattray. | Capt. Gordon Graham of Drainie.<br>Thomas Graham of Duchray.<br>John Campbell of Strachur.<br>James Stewart of Urrard.<br>James Murray of Strowan.<br>Lieut. James Grant.<br>Robert Gray.<br>John Campbell of Melford.<br>William Grant.<br>John Graham.<br>Alexander Campbell.<br>Alexander Mackintosh.<br>Archibald Campbell.<br>David Milne.<br>Patrick Balneaves of Edradour.<br>Ens. John Smith.<br>Peter Grant. |
| Martinique, January 1759, | | Lieut. George Leslie. |
| Guadaloupe, Feb. and March 1759, | Ens. J. Maclean. | Lieut. A. Maclean.<br>George Leslie.<br>J. St Clair.<br>A. Robertson. |
| Martinique, January and February 1762, | Capt. Will. Cockburn.<br>Lieut. David Barclay. | Major John Reid of Straloch.<br>Capt. James Murray of Strowan.<br>Thomas Stirling of Ardoch.<br>Lieuts. Alexander Mackintosh.<br>David Milne.<br>Patrick Balneaves of Edradour.<br>Alex. Turnbull of Strickathro.<br>John Robertson of Lude.<br>William Brown.<br>George Leslie. |
| Expedition, under Colonel Bouquet, to Fort Pitt in August 1763, | Capt. John Graham.<br>Lieut. Ja. Mackintosh. | Capt. John Graham of Duchray.<br>Lieut. Duncan Campbell. |
| AMERICAN WAR. | | |
| Long Island, Aug. 22, 1776, | | Lieut. J. Crammond. |
| York Island, Sept. 17, 1776, | | Brevet-Major Duncan Macpherson.<br>Capt.-Lieut. John Mackintosh.<br>Ens. A. Mackenzie. Died of wounds. |

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | WOUNDED. |
|---|---|---|
| AMERICAN WAR. | | |
| Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776, | | Lieut. Norman Macleod.<br>Pat. Graham of Inchbrackie.<br>Alexander Grant. |
| Piscatua, May 10, 1777, | | Capt. Duncan Macpherson. |
| Brandy Wine, September 11, 1777, | | Lieut. William Stewart.<br>Volunteer George Mackenzie. |
| Monmouth, June 28, 1778, | | Lieut. Harry Gilchrist, died of his wounds. |
| Charlestown, April and May 1780, | Lieut. Alex. Macleod. | Capt. David Anstruther of Arditt. |
| Jersey, March 26, 1781, | | Colonel Thomas Stirling of Ardoch. |
| FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR. | | |
| Gildersmalsen, Jan. 5, 1795, | | Lieut. Coll Lamont. |
| Banks of the Waal, Jan. 7, 1795, | | Lieut. John Raitt. |
| St Lucia, Ap. 1796, | | Lieut. James J. Fraser. |
| St Vincent, June 10, 1796, | | Lieut. Simon Fraser, Junior. |
| Landing in Egypt, March 8, 1801, | | Lieut.-Colonel James Stewart.<br>Capt. Charles Macquarrie.<br>Lieuts. Alexander Campbell.<br>John Dick.<br>Frederick Campbell.<br>Stewart Campbell.<br>Charles Campbell.<br>Ensign William Wilson. |
| Egypt, March 13, 1801, | | Lieut.-Col. Will. Dickson of Kilbucho.<br>Capt. Arch. A. Campbell.<br>Lieut. Simon Fraser, Senior. |
| Alexandria, March 21, 1801, | Brev.-Major Rob. Bisset.<br>Lieut. A. Anderson.<br>Alex. Stewart.<br>Alex. Donaldson.<br>Colin Campbell.<br>Donald Macnicol. | Major James Stirling.<br>Capt. David Stewart.<br>Lieuts. Hamilton Rose.<br>J. M. Sutherland.<br>A. M. Cunningham.<br>Frederick Campbell.<br>Maxwell Grant.<br>Ensign William Mackenzie. |
| Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809, | | Capt. Dun. Campbell, died of wounds.<br>John Fraser.<br>Maxwell Grant.<br>Lieuts. Alexander Anderson.<br>William Middleton.<br>Thomas Macinnes. |
| Burgos, Sept. and Oct. 1812, | Lieut. R. Ferguson.<br>Peter Milne.<br>Ens. David Cullen. | Capts. Donald Williamson, died of wounds.<br>Archibald Menzies.<br>George Davidson.<br>Lieuts. Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Stewart.<br>Robert Mackinnon. |
| Passage of the Nivelle, Nov. 10, 1813, | | Capt. Mungo Macpherson.<br>Lieut. Kenneth Macdougall. |

| BATTLES, ACTIONS, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | WOUNDED. |
|---|---|---|
| FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR. | | |
| Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9, 1813, | Capt. George Stewart.<br>Lieut. James Stewart. | |
| Orthés, Feb. 27, 1814, | | Major William Cowell.<br>Capt. James Walker.<br>Lieuts. Duncan Stewart.<br>James Brander. |
| Toulouse, April 10, 1814. | Capt. John Swanson.<br>Lieut. William Gordon.<br>Ens. John Latta.<br>Don. Maccrimmon. | Lieut.-Colonel Robert Macara.<br>Capt. James Walker.<br>John Henderson, died of wounds.<br>Alexander Mackenzie.<br>Lieuts. Donald Mackenzie.<br>Thomas Munro.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Robertson.<br>R. A. Mackinnon.<br>Roger Stewart.<br>Robert Gordon.<br>Charles Maclaren.<br>Don. Farquharson, died of wounds.<br>James Watson.<br>William Urquhart.<br>Ensign Thomas Macniven.<br>Colin Walker.<br>James Geddes.<br>Mungo Macpherson. |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815, | Lieut.-Col. Sir Robert Macara, K. C. B.<br>Lieut. Robert Gordon.<br>Ens. William Gerrard. | Major R. H. Dick.<br>Capts. A. Menzies.<br>Geo. Davidson, died of wounds.<br>Donald Macdonald.<br>Daniel Mackintosh.<br>Robert Boyle.<br>Lieuts. Donald Chisholm.<br>Duncan Stewart.<br>Donald Mackenzie.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>John Malcolm.<br>A. Dunbar.<br>Ensigns William Fraser.<br>A. L. Fraser. |
| Waterloo, June 18, 1815, | | Adjutant James Young.<br>Capt. Mungo Macpherson.<br>Lieuts. John Orr.<br>George Gunn Munro.<br>Hugh Angus Fraser.<br>James Brander.<br>Quartermaster Donald Mackintosh. |
| Total, 34 Officers killed, 90 Officers, 1 Staff, 1 Volunteer, wounded. | | |

## No. IV.

*Return of the Numbers of Killed and Wounded under the Command of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, from the first meeting with the Enemy at Brilos, after he disembarked in Portugal, in August* 1808, *till the last Battle of the War, at Toulouse, on the* 10*th of April* 1814.

| BATTLES, SIEGES, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| **1808.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brilos, Aug. 14, - - | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 5 |
| Roleia, 17, - - | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 3 | | 63 | | 4 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 20 | | 295 |
| Vimiera, 21, - - | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 128 | | 3 | 10 | 22 | 2 | 27 | 4 | 466 |
| Total in 1808, - | | 2 | 3 | 5 | | 6 | | 192 | | 7 | 18 | 31 | 3 | 47 | 4 | 766 |
| **1809.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Albergaria Nova, May 10, | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| Heights of Grijon, 11, | | | 1 | | | | | 19 | | | 3 | | 3 | | | 63 |
| Passage of the Douro, 12, | | | | | | | | 23 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | | | 96 |
| Talavera, July 27, - | | 1 | 1 | 4 | | 2 | | 122 | | 2 | 6 | 14 | 2 | 17 | 1 | 465 |
| Do. 28, - | 2 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 26 | 4 | 613 | 3 | 19 | 49 | 92 | 8 | 148 | 15 | 3072 |
| Total in 1809, - | 2 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 3 | 28 | 4 | 777 | 4 | 25 | 61 | 109 | 13 | 165 | 16 | 3698 |
| **1810.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Barba del Puerco, March 19, - - - | | | | 1 | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | 10 |
| Ciudad Rodrigo, July 11, | | 1 | | | | | | 8 | | | | | | | | 23 |
| Busaco, September 25 and 26, - - - | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | 5 |
| Do. 27, - | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 5 | | 97 | | 8 | 10 | 17 | | 21 | 3 | 431 |
| Coimbra, Oct. 7, - | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Do. 16, - | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| Obidos, 9 to 14, | | | | | | 1 | | 19 | | | 5 | 2 | | 7 | | 77 |
| Evora, Dec. 9, - - | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Almeida, July 24, - | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 29 | | 1 | 7 | 13 | 1 | 10 | | 164 |
| Total in 1810, - | | 3 | 3 | 6 | | 9 | | 159 | | 9 | 23 | 33 | 1 | 40 | 3 | 713 |

| BATTLES, SIEGES, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| **1811.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Barossa, March 5, - | | | 2 | 5 | | 6 | 2 | 187 | | 6 | 14 | 34 | 1 | 45 | 4 | 936 |
| Redkina, 6 to 15, | | | | 3 | | 1 | | 48 | | 1 | 8 | 17 | 1 | 22 | | 342 |
| Banks of the Guadiana, April 7, - - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 7 |
| Olivença, April 15, - | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Fuentes de Honor, May 3, | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 19 | | 1 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 145 |
| Villa Formosa, 5, | | | 1 | 8 | | 8 | 2 | 129 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 28 | 2 | 50 | 4 | 766 |
| Do. - - | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 15 | | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 117 |
| Barba del Puerco, 11, | | | | | | | | 4 | | | | 1 | | | | 15 |
| Badajos, 8, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 11 |
| Do. 10, | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 29 | | 3 | 2 | 14 | | 9 | 3 | 347 |
| Do. 15, | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 21 | | 1 | 4 | 3 | | 8 | 1 | 92 |
| Albuera, 16, | 1 | 2 | 7 | 22 | | 31 | 4 | 815 | 7 | 8 | 43 | 101 | 6 | 132 | 9 | 2426 |
| Do. May 30 to June 20, | | | | 2 | | | | 13 | | | | 1 | | 3 | | 48 |
| Do. June 6 and 11, | | | | 3 | | 1 | | 48 | | | 2 | 9 | | 9 | | 127 |
| Campo Mayor, July 25, | | | | 1 | | | | 23 | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 65 |
| Heights of El Bodon, September 25, - - | | | | | | 1 | | 26 | | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 85 |
| Heights of Aldea de Ponte, Sept. 27, - - | | | 1 | | | | | 12 | | 1 | 4 | 4 | | 2 | 1 | 54 |
| Arroyo del Molino, Oct. 28, | | | | | | | | 7 | | 3 | 4 | | | 4 | | 47 |
| La Naval, Dec. 29, - | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 18 |
| Total in 1811, - | 1 | 2 | 14 | 48 | 1 | 53 | 8 | 1401 | 9 | 31 | 104 | 234 | 15 | 314 | 26 | 5653 |
| **1812.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fuentes del Muestre, January 3, - | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 | | 17 |
| Ciudad Rodrigo, 8, | | | | | | | | 6 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 17 |
| Do. 9 to 14, | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 21 | | 1 | | 4 | | 6 | | 179 |
| Do. 15 to 19, | 1 | | 5 | 2 | | 8 | 1 | 113 | 3 | 3 | 19 | 33 | 2 | 28 | 15 | 403 |
| Badajos, March 18 to 22, | | 1 | 2 | 4 | | 5 | | 95 | | 4 | 10 | 14 | | 15 | 2 | 447 |
| Do. March 31 to April 7, - | | 5 | 14 | 41 | | 45 | | 715 | 8 | 16 | 40 | 178 | 9 | 178 | 14 | 2564 |
| Llerena, April 11, - | | | | | | 1 | | 13 | | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | | 36 |
| Almarez, May 19, - | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 30 | | | 2 | 10 | | 10 | 1 | 117 |
| Macquilla, June 11, - | | | | | | 2 | | 20 | | | | | | | | 26 |
| Salamanca, June 16 to 27, | | | 2 | 4 | | 5 | 1 | 103 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 15 | | 14 | 7 | 333 |
| Do. July 18, - | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 56 | | 1 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 273 |
| Do. 22, - | 1 | 2 | 11 | 4 | | 24 | 1 | 335 | 4 | 17 | 43 | 111 | 3 | 136 | 13 | 2387 |
| Do. 23, - | | | 1 | 2 | | 2 | | 46 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 4 | | 52 |
| Ribera, 24, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Majalaonda, Aug. 11, | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 18 | | | 2 | 3 | | 5 | | 36 |
| Retiro, (Madrid,) August 13, - | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 9 |
| Carry forward, - | 2 | 8 | 37 | 70 | 1 | 99 | 3 | 1573 | 16 | 46 | 132 | 382 | 15 | 409 | 53 | 6902 |

| BATTLES, SIEGES, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Brought forward, - | 2 | 8 | 37 | 70 | 1 | 99 | 3 | 1573 | 16 | 46 | 132 | 382 | 15 | 409 | 53 | 6,902 |
| 1812. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Burgos, Sept. 20 to 26, | | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | | 47 | | | 6 | 5 | | 10 | | 217 |
| Do. 19, - | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 41 | | | 4 | 6 | | 16 | | 214 |
| Do. 27 to Oct. 3, | | | | | | 2 | | 17 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 69 |
| Do. Oct. 4 to 5, - | | | | | | 2 | | 31 | | 1 | 2 | 6 | | 8 | 2 | 148 |
| Do. 6 to 10, | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | | 82 | | | 5 | 7 | | 7 | 3 | 200 |
| Do. 11 to 17, | | | | | | 1 | | 23 | | | | 3 | | 3 | | 39 |
| Do. 18 to 21, | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 4 | | 81 | | | 4 | 5 | | 2 | | 119 |
| Alba de Tormes, 22 to 29, | | | 2 | 2 | | 10 | | 75 | | 4 | 4 | 26 | | 26 | 2 | 314 |
| Do. to Nov. 11, | | | | | | | | 13 | | | | 1 | | 3 | | 52 |
| Ciudad Rodrigo, 15 to 19, | | | 2 | | | 2 | | 7 | | | 2 | 2 | | 4 | | 86 |
| Total in 1812, - | 2 | 12 | 45 | 80 | 2 | 129 | 3 | 1990 | 16 | 51 | 159 | 443 | 15 | 489 | 61 | 8,360 |
| 1813. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Castalla, April 12 and 13, | | | 2 | | | 2 | 1 | 65 | | 2 | 1 | 9 | | 15 | 1 | 258 |
| Morales, June 2, - | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 13 |
| Villa Franca, June 18, | | | | | | 2 | | 8 | | | 2 | | | 1 | | 51 |
| Do. 19, | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 11 |
| Vittoria, 21, | | 1 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 15 | 4 | 460 | | 12 | 40 | 109 | 5 | 123 | 13 | 2,504 |
| Tolosa, 24 and 25, | | | | | | | | 21 | | 1 | 5 | 8 | | 4 | 4 | 120 |
| Fort St Phillips, 3 and 7, | | | | 1 | | | | 4 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 37 |
| Puerto de Maya, July 4 and 8, - - - | | | | | | | | 6 | | | | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 80 |
| St Sebastian, July 7 to 20, | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 11 | | 1 | 2 | 5 | | 9 | 1 | 107 |
| Do. 21 to 27, | | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 7 | | 85 | | 1 | 11 | 10 | 2 | 12 | | 272 |
| Pyrenees, 25 to 28, | | 7 | 14 | 3 | 30 | 2 | | 324 | 1 | 16 | 31 | 96 | 3 | 105 | 5 | 2,192 |
| Do. 30, - | | 1 | 2 | | | 6 | | 72 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 22 | 3 | 32 | 4 | 394 |
| Do. July 31 and August 1, - - | | | | | | 6 | | 40 | | 1 | 7 | 4 | | 24 | 4 | 239 |
| Do. Aug. 2, - | | | 1 | 1 | | 4 | | 26 | | 5 | 4 | 13 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 278 |
| St Sebastian, July 28 and Aug. 31, - - | | 3 | 6 | 27 | | 31 | 1 | 503 | 3 | 3 | 15 | 49 | | 54 | 6 | 973 |
| Do. Aug. 31 and Sept. 1, | | | 3 | 2 | | 3 | | 43 | | 3 | 6 | 16 | | 25 | | 284 |
| Do. Sept. 8, - | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 8 |
| Passage of Bidassoa, Oct. 7 to 9, - - - | | | 1 | 3 | | 5 | 1 | 69 | | 1 | 12 | 26 | 1 | 33 | 3 | 419 |
| Attack on the fortified positions, - - | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 15 | | | | 2 | | 9 | | 45 |
| And passage of Nivelle, | | 3 | 4 | 14 | | 23 | 4 | 229 | 2 | 5 | 30 | 79 | 4 | 104 | 19 | 1,534 |
| Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9 and 13, - - | | 2 | 3 | 13 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 250 | 2 | 9 | 30 | 89 | 1 | 131 | 20 | 1,964 |
| Total in 1813, - | | 18 | 50 | 84 | 34 | 116 | 13 | 2234 | 10 | 65 | 198 | 540 | 17 | 704 | 83 | 11,793 |

| BATTLES, SIEGES, AND SKIRMISHES. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| **1814.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| St Sever, Feb. 14 to 17, | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 22 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 126 |
| Do. 23 to 26, | | | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | 16 | | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 110 |
| Orthés, 27, | | 1 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 21 | 2 | 169 | 2 | 9 | 30 | 63 | 2 | 67 | 11 | 1,203 |
| Supplement to 27, | | | | | | | | 4 | | | | 2 | | 4 | | 30 |
| Ayre, February 28 to March 2, | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 16 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 7 | | 9 | 2 | 112 |
| Do. Feb. 7 to 20, | 1 | | | 2 | | 3 | | 35 | | 2 | 6 | 18 | 2 | 26 | 4 | 246 |
| Bayonne, April 14, | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | 3 | 2 | 129 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 18 | 1 | 27 | 5 | 370 |
| Advance to Toulouse, March 22 to April 6, | | | | | | | | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | | 24 |
| Toulouse, April 10, | | 2 | 6 | 8 | | 17 | 1 | 278 | 2 | 7 | 31 | 91 | 3 | 86 | 11 | 1,564 |
| Total in 1814, | 2 | 5 | 17 | 24 | 1 | 49 | 5 | 672 | 7 | 26 | 90 | 218 | 10 | 240 | 39 | 3,785 |
| RECAPITULATION. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total loss in 1808, | | 2 | 3 | 5 | | 6 | | 192 | | 7 | 18 | 31 | 3 | 47 | 4 | 766 |
| 1809, | 2 | 3 | 9 | 14 | 5 | 28 | 4 | 777 | 4 | 25 | 61 | 109 | 13 | 165 | 16 | 3,698 |
| 1810, | | 3 | 3 | 6 | | 9 | | 159 | | 9 | 23 | 33 | 1 | 40 | 3 | 715 |
| 1811, | 1 | 2 | 14 | 48 | 1 | 53 | 8 | 1401 | 2 | 31 | 104 | 234 | 15 | 314 | 26 | 5,652 |
| 1812, | 2 | 12 | 45 | 80 | 9 | 129 | 3 | 1990 | 16 | 51 | 159 | 443 | 15 | 489 | 61 | 8,960 |
| 1813, | | 18 | 50 | 84 | 34 | 117 | 13 | 2234 | 10 | 65 | 198 | 540 | 17 | 704 | 83 | 11,793 |
| 1814, | 2 | 5 | 17 | 24 | 1 | 49 | 5 | 672 | 7 | 26 | 90 | 218 | 10 | 240 | 39 | 3,785 |
| Total loss in the Duke of Wellington's campaigns in Portugal, Spain, and France, | 7 | 45 | 141 | 261 | 41 | 390 | 33 | 7449 | 46 | 216 | 663 | 1621 | 81 | 2006 | 232 | 34,767 |

N. B.—Of the above number killed of rank and file, 1064 were of the German Legion and other foreign corps in the pay of Great Britain in Spain.

*Return of the Numbers Killed and Wounded of the British Army, under the Command of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, in Flanders in* 1815.

| TIME AND PLACE OF EACH ENGAGEMENT. | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1815. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, | 1 | 1 | 4 | 20 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 269 | | 11 | 36 | 91 | 4 | 100 | 5 | 1909 |
| —— 17, | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 24 | | | 1 | 2 | | 8 | | 41 |
| Waterloo, —— 18, | 2 | 10 | 46 | 45 | 5 | 102 | 13 | 1536 | 10 | 53 | 107 | 249 | 17 | 333 | 36 | 5087 |
| Total British, | 3 | 11 | 50 | 66 | 6 | 120 | 16 | 1829 | 10 | 64 | 144 | 342 | 21 | 441 | 41 | 7037 |

N. B.—10 officers, 9 non-commissioned officers, 1 drummer, and 311 rank and file, killed; 86 officers, 47 non-commissioned officers, 11 drummers, and 1983 wounded, of the German Legion, included in the above number.

*Total Loss in the Duke of Wellington's Campaigns in Portugal, Spain, France, and Flanders.*

| | KILLED. | | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | General Officers. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| Portugal, Spain, and France, - | 7 | 45 | 142 | 263 | 41 | 391 | 33 | 7449 | 46 | 216 | 663 | 1621 | 81 | 2006 | 232 | 34,816 |
| Quatre Bras and Waterloo, - - | 3 | 11 | 50 | 66 | 6 | 120 | 16 | 1829 | 10 | 60 | 144 | 342 | 21 | 441 | 41 | 7037 |
| GRAND TOTAL. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Grand Total of the Duke of Wellington's Campaigns from 1808 to 1815 inclusive, | 10 | 56 | 192 | 329 | 47 | 511 | 49 | 9278 | 56 | 276 | 807 | 1963 | 102 | 2447 | 273 | 41,853 |

N. B.—From the total number of 9278 soldiers killed, 1375 of the German Legion, and other foreign troops in the pay of Britain killed in Spain, France, and Flanders, are to be deducted. Hence 7903 natives of Great Britain and Ireland have fallen in battle in the course of the Duke of Wellington's campaigns.

## No. V.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 78th, or Ross-shire Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES. | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ens. | Lt. | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth | - - | — | — | — | — | — | 1793 |
| A. Mackenzie Fraser of Castle Fraser | 73d Regiment | — | — | — | — | 1793 | 1796 |
| Sir James Henry Craig, K.G.B. | 22d | — | — | — | — | — | 1809 |
| Sir Samuel Auchmuty, K.G.B. | 103d | — | — | — | — | — | 1812 |
| Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn | 42d | — | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | — |
| John Randol Mackenzie of Suddie | Marines | — | — | 1795 | 1794 | 1794 | — |
| Alexander Malcolm - - | - - | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | — |
| John Mackenzie, Gairloch - | - - | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | — |
| John Mackenzie, junior - | - - | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | — |
| Hay Macdowall - - | 36th | — | — | — | — | 1797 | — |
| Alexander Adams - | - - | — | — | 1793 | 1798 | 1802 | — |
| Patrick Macleod, Geanies - | 42d | — | — | 1794 | 1803 | 1804 | — |
| Hercules Scott, Benholm - | 42d | — | — | 1794 | 1800 | 1807 | — |
| John Macleod - - | - - | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | — | 1808 | — |
| James Macdonell, Glengarry - | 5th Foot | — | — | — | 1804 | 1809 | — |
| Sir Edward Michael Ryan, Knight | Garrison Battalion | — | — | — | — | 1811 | — |
| James Fraser - - | - - | — | — | 1797 | 1807 | 1813 | — |
| Martin Lindsay - - | - - | — | — | 1803 | 1810 | 1813 | — |
| David Forbes - - | - - | 1793 | 1794 | 1803 | 1811 | 1814 | — |
| George Earl of Errol - | - - | — | — | — | 1793 | — | — |
| Michael Monypenny - | - - | — | — | — | 1794 | — | — |
| Alexander Grant - - | 42d | — | — | — | 1795 | — | — |
| William Montgomery - | - - | — | — | — | 1795 | — | — |
| David Stewart - - | 42d | — | — | — | 1804 | — | — |
| William Campbell - | - - | 1793 | 1794 | 1794 | 1804 | — | — |
| Robert Hamilton - - | 79th | — | — | — | 1808 | — | — |
| Duncan Macpherson - | 35th | — | — | 1804 | 1811 | — | — |
| James Macbean - - - | 94th | — | — | 1804 | 1811 | — | — |
| Duncan Macgregor - | 55th | — | — | 1804 | 1813 | — | — |
| Colin Campbell Mackay - | 52d | — | — | 1805 | 1813 | — | — |
| Honourable George Cochrane - | - - | — | — | 1793 | — | — | — |
| Gabriel Murray - - | - - | — | — | 1794 | — | — | — |
| Alexander Rose : - | - - | 1793 | 1794 | — | — | — | — |
| Sir William Douglas, K. C. B. | - - | — | 1793 | — | — | — | — |
| John Mackenzie Scott - | - - | 1793 | 1794 | 1795 | — | — | — |
| Patrick Lindsay - - | - - | — | — | 1795 | — | — | — |
| James Rose - - | 42d | — | — | 1795 | — | — | — |
| Sir Archibald Christie - | 42d | — | 1793 | — | — | — | — |
| Hon. W. Douglas Gordon Halyburton | - - | — | 1794 | — | — | — | — |
| Norman Macleod - | - - | — | 1794 | — | — | — | — |
| George Macgregor - - | - - | 1794 | 1795 | — | — | — | — |
| Basil Fisher - - - | - - | — | 1796 | — | — | — | — |
| Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B. - | - - | — | 1802 | — | — | — | — |
| Robert Henry Dick - - | 42d | — | — | 1804 | — | — | — |
| George Mackay - - | - - | — | 1797 | 1804 | — | — | — |
| William Balvaird - - - | - - | — | 1804 | — | — | — | — |
| William Henry Heneage St Paul | - - | — | 1804 | — | — | — | — |
| C. Grant Falconer - | 61st | — | — | 1806 | — | — | — |

HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD-OFFICERS, or who rose to that or by Brevet, from 1793 to 1820.

| When removed. | Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks, relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1796 | 3 | Resigned com. of Reg. retaining his rank. Died 1816 | Lieut.-General |
| — | 16 | Died 1809 | Lieut.-General |
| — | 3 | Died 1812 | Lieut.-General |
| — | 8 | Colonel of the regiment 1820 | Lt.-Gen. in 1813 |
| 1797 | 4 | Exchanged to 36th Regiment | Lt.-Gen. in 1810 |
| — | 16 | Killed at Talavera, 1809 | Major-General |
| — | 5 | Died 1798 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 6 | Half-pay | Lt.-Gen. in 1814 |
| — | 2 | Half-pay | Maj.-Gen. in 1813 |
| 1802 | 5 | Promoted to 40th. Lost on pas. from India in 1809 | Lieut.-General |
| 1814 | 21 | Promoted to Major-General | Maj.-Gen. in 1814 |
| — | 13 | Killed in Egypt in 1807 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1808 | 14 | Removed to 103d. Killed in Canada, 1814 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1800 | 18 | Major in Macleod's Fencibles. Lieut-Col. in 78th | Maj.-Gen. in 1819 |
| 1810 | 6 | Exchanged to Coldstream Guards, 1810 | Colonel in 1818 |
| — | 1 | Died in 1812 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 16 | Killed in 1813 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 17 | Lieut.-Col. commanding the regiment in 1820 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 23 | Reduced on Half-pay, 1816 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1794 | 1 | 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. Died 1799 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1798 | 4 | Promoted to 73d Regiment. Died 1808 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 3 | Retired 1798. Died 1807 | Major |
| — | 5 | Promoted to 64th Regiment. Died 1800 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1808 | 4 | Promoted to Royal W. Ind. Rang. Half-pay 96th | Colonel in 1814 |
| — | 17 | Killed at Java, 1810 | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| — | 2 | Retired 1810 | Major |
| — | 16 | Major of the regiment in 1810 | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1819 |
| — | 16 | Do. do. | Ditto ditto |
| — | 12 | Half-pay in 1816 | Major |
| — | 11 | Half-pay in 1816 | Major |
| 1799 | 6 | Promoted to 87th Regiment. Retired 1805 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 1 | Killed January 1795 | Brevet-Major |
| 1796 | 3 | Promoted to 87th Reg. and to Royal Veterans | Major |
| 1794 | 1 | Major and Lieut-Col. in the 91st. Died Sept. 1818 | Colonel |
| 1796 | 3 | Removed to 87th Reg. Killed at Albuhera, 1811 | Brevet-Major |
| 1796 | 1 | Removed to 39th Regiment. Major of ditto, 1807 | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1811 |
| 1798 | 3 | Promoted to Veterans | Major |
| 1796 | 2 | Promoted to Veterans. Com.-Gen. of Hospitals | Colonel in 1813 |
| 1795 | 1 | Captain 113th. Removed to 1st Foot Guards | Colonel in 1819 |
| 1796 | 2 | Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Scots | Colonel in 1819 |
| 1797 | 3 | Promoted to 59th Reg. Lieut.-Col. in 59th in 1813 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1803 | 7 | Promoted to Scots Fusileers | Major in 1814 |
| 1805 | 3 | Capt. 75th; Maj. 63d. Removed to Colds. Guards | Colonel in 1814 |
| 1808 | 4 | Major in 42d, 1808. Lieut.-Col. in ditto, 1815 | Lieut.-Col. in 1811 |
| 1812 | 15 | Half-pay | Brevet-Major |
| 1805 | 1 | Half-pay | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| 1805 | 1 | Do. | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| — | — | Captain in the regiment | Brev.-Maj. in 1819 |

No. VI.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 79th, or CAMERON Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES. | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ens. | Lt. | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| Sir Allan Cameron, K. C. B. | - - | — | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1805 |
| Honourable A. Cochrane Johnstone | - - | — | — | — | — | 1794 | — |
| William Ashton - - | - - | — | — | — | — | 1794 | — |
| Patrick Macdowall - | Indep. Companies | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1796 | — |
| William Eden - - | 55th Foot | — | — | — | 1795 | 1798 | — |
| Archibald Maclean - - | H. p. Argyle Highl. | — | 1793 | 1794 | 1796 | 1801 | — |
| Phillips Cameron - - | -, - | 1793 | 1793 | 1794 | 1801 | 1804 | — |
| Sir John Murray, Baronet - | 84th | — | — | — | — | 1806 | — |
| Robert Fulton - - - | Scots Fusileers | — | — | 1800 | 1805 | 1807 | — |
| W. M. Harvey. - - | 1st W. India Reg. | — | — | — | 1806 | 1811 | — |
| Neil Douglas - - | 95th Foot | — | — | 1804 | 1811 | 1812 | — |
| Nathaniel Cameron - - | - - | — | — | 1806 | 1812 | 1813 | — |
| Gilbert Waugh - - | 84th | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | — | — |
| Honourable George Carnegie - | - - | — | — | 1793 | 1794 | — | — |
| Francis Stewart - | 125th | — | — | — | 1799 | — | — |
| Sir Edward Barnes, K. C. B. - | 99th | — | — | — | 1800 | — | — |
| Lord James Murray - - | 15th Hussars | — | — | — | 1805 | — | — |
| Robert Hamilton - - | 123d Foot | — | 1795 | 1799 | 1805 | — | — |
| William Sullivan - - | 8th Gar. Battalion | — | — | — | 1807 | — | — |
| Alexander Petrie - - | Royal Scots | — | — | 1800 | 1807 | — | — |
| Henry James Riddel - | 50th | — | — | — | 1808 | — | — |
| Andrew Laurie - - | 61st | — | — | 1804 | 1810 | — | — |
| Donald Cameron - - | - - | 1794 | 1795 | 1801 | 1811 | — | — |
| Honourable E. C. Cocks - | 16th Dragoons | — | — | — | 1812 | — | — |
| Andrew Brown - - | - - | 1795 | 1795 | 1803 | 1812 | — | — |
| Duncan Cameron - - | - - | 1799 | 1802 | 1804 | 1812 | — | — |
| Æneas Mackintosh - - | 85th | — | — | — | 1813 | — | — |
| Ewan Macpherson - - | 92d | — | — | — | 1813 | — | — |
| Donald Campbell - | - - | 1800 | 1803 | 1805 | 1814 | — | — |
| James Campbell - | 91st | — | — | 1808 | 1819 | — | — |
| Archibald Bertram - - | 37th | — | — | 1800 | — | — | — |
| Thomas Milne - - | - - | — | 1800 | 1805 | — | — | — |
| James Campbell - - | - - | — | — | 1805 | — | — | — |
| Hugh Macgregor - - | - - | 1804 | 1804 | 1806 | — | — | — |
| Alexander Cameron - - | - - | 1804 | 1807 | 1815 | — | — | — |

HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD-OFFICERS, or who rose to that or by Brevet, from 1793 to 1820.

| When Removed. | No. of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---|---|---|---|
| — | 26 | Colonel of the regiment in 1820 - | Lt.-Gen. in 1819 |
| 1798 | 4 | Promoted to the 8th West India Reg. Retired | |
| — | 2 | Died in the West Indies, October 1796 - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 8 | Killed in Egypt 1801 - - | Ditto |
| 1806 | 11 | Exchanged to 84th Regiment - - | Maj.-Gen. in 1811 |
| — | 14 | Retired May 1807. Died 1817 - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 18 | Killed at Fuentes d'Honor, May 1811 - | Ditto |
| 1809 | 3 | Promoted to Malta Reg. and Colonel 56th Reg. | Lt.-Gen. in 1812 |
| — | 12 | Retired December 1812 - - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 7 | Died June 1813 - - - | Ditto |
| — | 16 | Lieut.-Col. commanding the regiment in 1820 | Ditto |
| — | 8 | Half-pay 1814 - - - | Ditto |
| 1795 | 2 | Promoted to a Corps in St Domingo. Died 1797 | Ditto |
| — | 2 | Retired 1795 - - - | Major |
| 1800 | 1 | Half-pay 99th Regiment - - | Maj.-Gen. in 1814 |
| 1807 | 7 | Promoted to 46th Regiment, and Rifle Brigade | Ditto in 1813 |
| 1806 | 1 | Do. to Manx Fencibles - | Ditto in 1819 |
| 1808 | 13 | Exchanged to 78th Regiment. Retired in 1810 | Major |
| — | 3 | Retired October 1810 - - | Ditto |
| — | 12 | Do. February 1812 - - | Ditto |
| 1811 | 3 | Quartermaster-General's Department - | Lieut.-Col. in 1813 |
| — | 8 | Killed at Burgos 1812 - - - | Major |
| — | 18 | Retired April 1812 - - | Ditto. |
| — | 1 | Killed at Burgos October 1812 - - | Ditto |
| — | 25 | Major of the regiment in 1820 - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| — | 20 | Retired June 1819 - - - | Ditto |
| — | 1 | Died January 1814 - - | Ditto |
| — | 1 | Half-pay 1814. Lieutenant-Colonel Veterans | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 14 | Half-pay 1814 - - | Major |
| — | 12 | Major of the regiment in 1820 - - | Ditto |
| 1806 | 6 | Promoted to 101st Regiment. Lost at sea 1807 | Major |
| — | 10 | Captain in the regiment - - | Brev.-Maj. in 1815 |
| — | 5 | Do. do. - - | Ditto 1819 |
| 1812 | 8 | Exchanged to 2d Battalion 91st. Half-pay | Ditto ditto |
| 1815 | 11 | Do. to Scots Fusileers - - | Ditto ditto |

## No. VII.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 100th, now the 92d, rose to that Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES. | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ens. | Lt. | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| George Marquis of Huntly | Foot Guards | — | — | — | — | 1794 | 1796 |
| John Earl of Hopetoun | North Low. F. Inf. | — | — | — | — | — | 1806 |
| Sir John Hope, Knight | 60th | — | — | — | — | — | 1820 |
| Charles Erskine of Cardross | 77th | — | — | — | 1794 | 1795 | — |
| James Robertson | 71st | — | — | — | — | 1798 | — |
| Alexander Napier of Blackstone | | — | — | 1794 | 1796 | 1801 | — |
| Sir J. W. Gordon, K. C. B. | 85th | — | — | — | — | 1804 | — |
| John Cameron of Fassfearn | 43d | — | — | 1794 | 1801 | 1808 | — |
| John Lamont of Lamont | Clan Alpines | — | — | — | 1804 | 1809 | — |
| James Mitchell | | 1794 | 1797 | 1803 | 1809 | 1815 | — |
| Sir Francis Stoyin, K. C. B. | 28th | — | — | — | — | 1819 | — |
| Donald Macdonald, Boisdale | H. p. Indep. Comp. | — | — | — | 1794 | — | — |
| Simon Macdonald of Morer | | — | — | 1794 | 1795 | — | — |
| John Gordon | | — | — | 1794 | 1799 | — | — |
| William Morris | 73d | — | — | — | 1803 | — | — |
| Honourable John Ramsay | | — | — | 1794 | 1803 | — | — |
| Archibald Macdonell | 79th | — | 1794 | 1799 | 1805 | — | — |
| James Watson | 25th | — | — | — | 1806 | — | — |
| Peter Grant | Fusileers | — | 1794 | 1799 | 1808 | — | — |
| Archibald Campbell | Cape Regiment | — | — | 1803 | 1810 | — | — |
| Donald Macdonald | H. p. 42d | 1798 | 1799 | 1803 | 1812 | — | — |
| William Phipps | | 1799 | 1800 | 1805 | 1813 | — | — |
| John Macpherson | | 1799 | 1799 | 1803 | 1813 | — | — |
| James Lee, now Harvey | | 1799 | 1799 | 1804 | 1814 | — | — |
| George W. Holmes | | 1799 | 1799 | 1805 | 1815 | — | — |
| Archibald Ferrier | 21st | — | — | 1813 | 1818 | — | — |
| John Blaney | 91st | — | — | — | 1818 | — | — |
| Peter Wilkie | | 1799 | 1801 | 1806 | 1819 | — | — |
| George Cooper | | — | — | 1808 | 1819 | — | — |
| Andrew Paton | 10th | — | — | 1794 | — | — | — |
| Alexander Gordon of Rockville | | — | — | 1794 | — | — | — |
| Sir John Maclean, K. C. B. | | — | 1794 | 1797 | — | — | — |
| Thomas Forbes | | — | 1794 | — | — | — | — |
| Ewan Macpherson | | — | 1794 | — | — | — | — |
| William Erskine, Cardross | | — | 1795 | — | — | — | — |
| George Davidson | | — | 1795 | 1801 | — | — | — |
| Ralph Gore | | — | — | 1796 | — | — | — |
| William Alexander Gordon | | — | 1799 | 1801 | — | — | — |
| Charles Cameron | | 1798 | 1799 | — | — | — | — |
| Dugald Campbell | | 1798 | 1799 | 1805 | — | — | — |
| Alexander Mackay | | — | 1800 | — | — | — | — |
| Alexander Anderson | | 1799 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Alexander Cameron | | 1799 | — | — | — | — | — |
| James Seaton | 12th | — | — | 1803 | — | — | — |
| Robert Nugent Dunbar | 20th | — | — | 1803 | — | — | — |
| Andrew Geils | 73d | — | — | 1803 | — | — | — |
| Samuel Maxwell | 11th | — | — | 1804 | — | — | — |
| James Bent | | 1799 | 1799 | — | — | — | — |
| Donald Macpherson | | — | — | 1803 | — | — | — |
| Sir Ulysses Burgh | | — | — | 1808 | — | — | — |
| Alexander Stewart | | 1794 | — | — | — | — | — |

or GORDON HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD OFFICERS, or who or by Brevet, from 1794 to 1820.

| When Removed. | No of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1806 | 12 | To the Royal Highland Regiment - | General in 1819 |
| 1820 | 14 | Ditto - - - | Do. do. |
| — | — | - - - - - - - - | Lieut.-Gen. do. |
| — | 7 | Killed in Egypt in 1801 - - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1804 | 6 | Promoted to Major-General - - | Lt.-Gen. in 1814 |
| — | 15 | Killed at Corunna January 16, 1809 - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1808 | 4 | Colonel 85th Regiment. Quarter-Master-General | Maj.-Gen. in 1813 |
| — | 21 | Killed at Quatre Bras, June 1815 - | Colonel |
| 1814 | 10 | Promoted to Major-General - - | Maj.-Gen. in 1819 |
| 1819 | 25 | Retired - - - - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| — | 1 | Lieut.-Col. commanding the regiment in 1820 | Do. |
| — | 1 | Appointed to raise a new regiment. Died 1795 | Do. |
| 1799 | 5 | Retired. Dead - - - | Major |
| 1806 | 12 | Retired - - - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| 1805 | 2 | Removed to Veterans.. Dead - - | Colonel |
| 1804 | 10 | Half-pay - - - - | Do. in 1819 |
| 1813 | 19 | Veterans. Died in 1814 - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| 1810 | 4 | Retired - - - - | Major |
| 1812 | 19 | Do. on Full pay. Dead - | Do. |
| 1813 | 10 | Do. Dead - - - | Do. |
| 1818 | 20 | Half-pay - - - | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1815 |
| 1814 | 15 | Do. - - - - - | Major |
| — | 15 | Died of Wounds 1813 - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| — | 15 | Half-pay 1814 - - - | Major |
| — | 19 | Retired 1818 - - - - | Do. |
| — | 6 | Died in Jamaica 1819 - - - | Do. |
| — | 1 | Do. do. - - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| — | 21 | Major of the regiment in 1820 - - | Major |
| — | 12 | Do. do. - - - | Do. |
| 1804 | 10 | Promoted to 45th Regiment. Retired - | Do. |
| 1803 | 9 | Do. to 83d do. Killed at Talavera | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1804 | 10 | Do. to 27th. Half-pay - - | Colonel in 1814 |
| 1796 | 2 | Do. to 37th and 45th. Killed at Toulouse 1814 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1799 | 5 | Do. to 17th Regiment, and Veterans - | Do. |
| 1796 | 1 | Do. to 16th and 71st Regiments. Dead | Major |
| 1805 | 10 | Remov. to 42d Reg. Killed at Quatre Bras 1815 | Brevet.-Major |
| 1799 | 3 | Do. to the 9th Regiment - - | Lieut.-Col. in 1810 |
| 1802 | 3 | Captain 50th Regiment. Half-pay - | Brevet do. in 1813 |
| 1800 | 2 | Promoted to 3d Regt. or Buffs. Captain 1804 | Do. in 1819 |
| 1818 | 20 | To Half-pay 4th Foot. Dead - | Brevet-Major |
| 1800 | 1 | To 93d Regiment. Retired 1817 - - | Major |
| 1801 | 2 | Promoted to 42d Reg. and Portuguese Service | Brv.-Lt.-Col. 1816 |
| 1801 | 2 | To Rifle Corps. Half-pay - - | Do. in 1812 |
| — | 10 | Died of Wounds in 1813 - - | Brevet-Major |
| — | 9 | Retired in 1812 - - - | Do. |
| 1804 | 1 | To 73d Regiment. Half-pay - - | Lieut.-Col. in 1813 |
| 1818 | 14 | Retired - - - | Brevet-Major |
| 1802 | 3 | Promoted to 20th Regiment. Killed in Spain | Major |
| 1806 | 3 | To 10th Veterans - - - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1814 | 6 | To Guards - - - - | Brevet-Lieut.-Col. |
| 1795 | 1 | Half-pay - - - | Colonel in 1819 |

## No. VIII.—LIST of OFFICERS who served in the 93d, or who rose to that Rank either Regimentally

| NAMES. | From what Regiment Received. | Dates of Commissions in the Reg. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ens. | Lt. | Capt. | Maj. | Lt. Col. | Col. |
| William Wemyss of Wemyss | | — | — | — | — | — | 1800 |
| Alexander Halket | | — | — | — | — | 1800 | — |
| George Johnstone | 104th | — | — | — | — | 1810 | — |
| Andrew Creagh | Rifle Corps | — | — | — | 1800 | 1814 | — |
| William Wemyss, junior | | — | 1805 | — | — | 1815 | — |
| John Graham | 90th | — | — | — | 1800 | — | — |
| Robert Honeyman | York Fusileers | — | — | — | 1803 | — | — |
| Samuel Brown | 2d West Ind. Reg. | — | — | 1800 | 1806 | — | — |
| Robert Dale | 39th | — | — | — | 1806 | — | — |
| Alexander Gordon | 16th | — | — | 1800 | 1814 | — | — |
| Alexander Mackay | 92d | — | — | 1800 | 1814 | — | — |
| Richard Ryan | | — | 1801 | 1805 | 1815 | — | — |
| William Sutherland | | — | — | 1814 | 1817 | — | — |
| Edward Fawconer | | — | — | 1807 | — | — | — |
| P. O. K. Boulger | | — | — | 1807 | — | — | — |
| A. Douglas | | — | — | 1808 | — | — | — |
| J. Tyler | | — | — | 1814 | — | — | — |

## SUTHERLAND HIGHLAND REGIMENT, as FIELD OFFICERS, or or by Brevet, from 1800 to 1820.

| When Removed. | No. of Years' Service in the Regiment. | Remarks relative to Promotion, Resignation, Exchange, &c. | Highest Rank in the Army at their Decease; when retired; or still holding. |
|---|---|---|---|
| — | 20 | - - - | General in 1814 |
| 1810 | 10 | Exchanged to 104th - - | Major-Gen. in 1813 |
| 1814 | 4 | Promoted to Major-General - - | Major-Gen. in 1814 |
| — | 10 | Lieut.-Col. commanding the regiment in 1820 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1815 | 10 | Half-pay 1815 - - | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1806 | 6 | Promoted to Cape Regiment. Half-pay | Colonel in 1814 |
| 1806 | 3 | Prom. to Royal Irish. Died in Jamaica, 1809 | Lieut.-Colonel |
| 1809 | 9 | Retired - - - | Major |
| — | 8 | Killed at New Orleans, 1814 - | Major |
| — | 20 | Major of the regiment in 1820 - | Major |
| — | 17 | Retired 1817 - - | Major |
| — | 14 | Half-pay 1815 - - | Major |
| — | 6 | Major of the regiment in 1820 - | Major |
| 1819 | 12 | Retired - - - | Brevet-Major |
| 1819 | 12 | Veteran Battalion - - | Brevet-Major |
| — | 12 | Captain in the regiment - - - | Brevet-Major. |
| — | 3 | Half-pay - - - | Brevet-Major |

## No. IX.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the 79th Regiment, from the first Formation in 1793 to the Conclusion of the War in 1815.*

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1799. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bergen, October 2, | | 1 | | | | | 13 | 1 | | 3 | | 4 | | 54 |
| Total in 1799 | | 1 | | | | | 13 | 1 | | 3 | | 4 | | 54 |
| 1801. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aboukir, March 13, | | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | |
| Alexandria, March 21, | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 2 | | 18 |
| Rhamanieh, May 10, | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Total in 1801, | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | | 19 |
| 1810. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Busaco, September 27, | | | | | | | 7 | | 2 | | | | | 41 |
| Total in 1810, | | | | | | | 7 | | 2 | | | | | 41 |
| 1811. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fuentes d'Honor, May 3, | 1 | 1 | | | | | 4 | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | 17 |
| Villa Formosa, May 5, | | | | | 1 | | 26 | 1 | 2 | 6 | | 5 | | 121 |
| Total in 1811, | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 30 | 1 | 3 | 8 | | 6 | | 138 |
| 1812. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Burgos, September 19, | | | | | | | 5 | | | 2 | | 3 | | 29 |
| Do. 20 and 26, | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 18 |
| Do. Sept. 27 to Oct. 5, | | | | | | | 3 | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Do. October 4 to 5, | | | | | | | 6 | | | | | 1 | | 7 |
| Do. 6 to 10, | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 27 |
| Do. 11 to 17, | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Do. 18 to 21, | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Do. July 25, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Total in 1812, | 2 | | | | 1 | | 17 | | 1 | 3 | | 5 | 1 | 87 |
| 1813. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nivelle, November 10, | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 5 |
| Passage of the Nive, December 9, | | | | | | | 5 | | | 1 | | 2 | | 24 |
| Total in 1813, | | | | | | | 6 | | | 2 | | 2 | | 29 |

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1814. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Toulouse, April 10, - - | | 2 | 2 | | | | 16 | | 4 | 9 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 165 |
| Total in 1814, - | | 2 | 2 | | | | 16 | | 4 | 9 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 165 |
| 1815. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, - | | | | 1 | | | 28 | 3 | 6 | 7 | | 10 | | 248 |
| Waterloo, June 18, - - | | | 2 | | 2 | | 27 | | 3 | 8 | | 7 | 4 | 121 |
| Total in 1815, - | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 55 | 3 | 9 | 15 | | 17 | 4 | 369 |
| RECAPITULATION. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total loss in 1799, - - | | 1 | | | | | 13 | 1 | | 3 | | 4 | | 54 |
| 1801, - - | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | | 19 |
| 1810, - - | | | | | | | 7 | | 2 | | | | | 41 |
| 1811, - - | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 30 | 1 | 3 | 8 | | 6 | | 138 |
| 1812, - - | 2 | | | | 1 | | 17 | | 1 | 3 | | 5 | 1 | 87 |
| 1813, - - | | | | | | | 6 | | | 2 | | 2 | | 29 |
| 1814, - - | | 2 | 2 | | | | 16 | | 4 | 9 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 165 |
| Total before the Peace of 1814, - | 3 | 4 | 2 | | 3 | | 89 | 3 | 11 | 28 | 1 | 31 | 3 | 533 |
| Total in 1815, - - | | | | 1 | 2 | | 55 | 3 | 9 | 15 | | 17 | 4 | 369 |
| Total killed and wounded during twenty-two years of the war, - | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 5 | | 144 | 6 | 20 | 43 | 1 | 48 | 7 | 902 |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

| Rank. | Names. | When Killed. | Where Killed. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Captain | James Campbell | Oct. 2, 1799 | Bergen |
| Lieut.-Colonel | Phillips Cameron | May 3, 1811 | Fuentes d'Honor |
| Captain | William Imlach | do | do |
| Major | Honourable E. Cocks | Oct. 3, 1812 | Burgos |
| | Andrew Laurie | | do |
| Captain | Patrick Purvis | April 10, 1814 | Toulouse |
| | John Cameron | do | do |
| Lieutenant | Duncan Cameron | do | do |
| | Ewan Cameron | do | do |
| Adjutant | John Kynock | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras |
| Lieutenant | D. Macpherson | do 18 do | Waterloo |
| | E. Kennedy | do | do |

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

| Rank. | Names. | When Wounded. | Where Wounded. | Whether Dead. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Colonel | Allan Cameron | Oct. 2, 1799 | Bergen | |
| Lieutenant | Colin Macdonald | do | do | |
| | D. Macniel | do | do | |
| | Stair Rose | do | do | |
| Lieut.-Col. | Patrick Macdowall | Mar. 13, 1801 | Egypt | Died of Wnds. |
| Lieutenant | George Sutherland | do | do | March 19. |
| | John Stewart | do | do | |
| Volunteer | Alexander Cameron | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Patrick Ross | do 21 do | Alexandria | |
| Captain | Samuel Macdowall | May 10, do | Rhamunich | |
| | Niel Douglas | Sept. 27, 1810 | Busaco | |
| | Alexander Cameron | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | James Calder | May 3, 1811 | Fuentes d'Onor | |
| | Hugh Grant | Sept. 19, 1812 | Burgos | |
| | Angus Macdonald | do | do | |
| | K. J. Leslie | do 20 do | do | |
| | Alexander Robertson | Nov. 10, 1813 | Pass of the Nive | |
| Ensign | John Thomson | Dec. 13, do | Passage of Nivelle | |
| Captain | Thomas Mylne | April 10, 1814 | Toulouse | |
| | Peter Innes | do | do | |
| | James Campbell | do | do | |
| | William Marshall | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | William Macbarnett | do | do | |
| | Donald Cameron | do | do | |
| | James Fraser | do | do | |
| | Duncan Macpherson | do | do | |
| | Ewen Cameron (Senior) | do | do | |
| | Ewen Cameron (Junior) | do | do | |
| | John Kynock | do | do | |
| | Charles Macarthur | do | do | |
| | Allan Macdonald | do | do | |
| Ensign | Allan Maclean | do | do | |
| Adjutant | Alexander Cameron | do | do | |
| Lieut.-Col. | Neil Douglas | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras | |
| Major | Andrew Brown | do | do | |
| | Donald Cameron | do | do | |
| Captain | Thomas Mylne | do | do | |
| | William Marshall | do | do | |
| | Malcolm Fraser | do | do | |
| | John Sinclair | do | do | |
| | Neil Campbell | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Donald Macphee | do | do | |
| | Thomas Brown | do | do | |
| | William Maddock | do | do | |
| | William Leaper | do | do | |
| | James Fraser | do | do | |
| | W. A. Reach | do | do | |
| Ensign | James Robertson | do | do | |
| Captain | James Campbell | do 18, do | Waterloo | |
| | Neil Campbell | do | do | Do. in July. |
| | John Cameron | do | do | Do. June 27. |
| Lieutenant | John Powling | do | do | |
| | Donald Cameron | do | do | |
| | Ewen Cameron | do | do | |
| | Alexander Cameron | do | do | |
| | Charles Macarthur | do | do | |
| | Alexander Forbes | do | do | |
| Ensign | John Nash | do | do | |
| | A. S. Crawford | do | do | |

No. X.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded of the 92d Highland Regiment, from the Formation, 1794, to the Conclusion of the War, 1815.*

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| 1799. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Zype, September 10, - | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Bergen, October 2, - - - | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 54 | 1 | 4 | 6 | | 6 | 1 | 175 |
| Total in 1799, - | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 55 | 1 | 5 | 6 | | 6 | 1 | 178 |
| 1801. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aboukir, March 13, - - | | | | | | | 19 | 1 | 2 | 8 | | 10 | | 100 |
| Alexandria, March 21, - | | | | | | | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | | 37 |
| August 29, - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Total in 1801, - | | | | | | | 22 | 1 | 3 | 9 | | 10 | | 140 |
| 1807. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Copenhagen, August 16, - | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Total in 1807, - | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1809. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Corunna, - - - - - | 1 | | | | | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | 12 |
| Total in 1809, - | 1 | | | | | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | 12 |
| 1811. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fuentes d'Honor, May 3, - | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 9 |
| Villa Fermosa, May 5, - | | | | | | | 7 | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | | 33 |
| Arroyo del Molino, October 28, | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 3 | | | | | 7 |
| Total in 1811, - | | | | | | | 10 | 2 | 3 | 2 | | 2 | | 49 |
| 1812. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Almarez, May 19, - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Alba de Tormes, Nov. 10 and 11, | | | | | | | 8 | | | 1 | | | | 33 |
| Total in 1812, - | | | | | | | 8 | | | 1 | | | | 35 |
| 1813. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vittoria, June 21, - - | | | | | | | 4 | | | | | 1 | | 15 |
| Pyrenees, July 25, - - | | | | | 2 | | 32 | 3 | 3 | 13 | | 10 | | 258 |
| Do. July 30, - | | | | | | | 9 | | 1 | | | | | 26 |
| Do. July 31, and August 1, | | | | | 2 | | 8 | 1 | 3 | 2 | | 3 | | 66 |
| Passage of the Nive, December 9, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Do. December 13, | | | 3 | | 1 | | 27 | 1 | 3 | 6 | | 7 | | 136 |
| Puerto de Maya, July 4 and 8, | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Total in 1813, - | | | 3 | | 5 | | 80 | 5 | 10 | 21 | | 21 | | 504 |

| PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS. | KILLED. | | | | | | | WOUNDED. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Field Officers. | Captains. | Subalterns. | Staff. | Serjeants. | Drummers. | Rank and File. |
| **1814.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| St Sever, February 14, - | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 7 |
| Do. do. 15, - | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Do. do. 17, - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 10 |
| Orthese, do. 27, - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Ayre, March 2, - - | | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| Total in 1814, - | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 55 |
| **1815.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Quatre Bras, June 16, - | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | | 33 | | 3 | 15 | | 13 | 1 | 212 |
| Waterloo, do. 18, - | | | | | 1 | | 13 | | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | | 19 |
| Total in 1815, - - - | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | | 46 | | 5 | 19 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 231 |
| **RECAPITULATION.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total loss in 1799, - - | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | | 55 | 1 | 5 | 6 | | 6 | 1 | 178 |
| 1801, - - | | | | | | | 22 | 1 | 3 | 9 | | 10 | | 140 |
| 1807, - - | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 1809, - - | 1 | | | | | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | 12 |
| 1811, - - | | | | | | | 10 | 2 | 3 | 2 | | 2 | | 49 |
| 1812, - - | | | | | | | 8 | | | 1 | | | | 35 |
| 1813, - - | | | 3 | | 5 | | 80 | 5 | 10 | 21 | | 21 | | 504 |
| 1814, - - | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 53 |
| Total before the peace of 1814, - | 1 | 1 | 5 | | 8 | | 181 | 9 | 23 | 43 | | 40 | 2 | 971 |
| Total in 1815, - - - | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 3 | | 46 | 1 | 5 | 19 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 231 |
| Total killed and wounded during twenty-two years of the war, - | 2 | 2 | 8 | | 11 | | 227 | 10 | 28 | 62 | 1 | 56 | 3 | 1202 |

*Names of Officers Killed.*

| Rank. | Names. | When Killed. | Where Killed. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Captain | William Mackintosh | Oct. 2, 1799 | Bergen |
| Lieutenant | Alexander Fraser | do | do |
| | Gordon Machardy | do | do |
| Lieut.-Colonel | Alexander Napier | Jan. 16, 1809 | Corunna |
| Lieutenant | Duncan Macpherson | Dec. 13, 1813 | Pyrenees |
| | Thomas Mitchell | do | do |
| | Allan Macdonald | do | do |
| Lieut.-Colonel | John Cameron | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras |
| Captain | William Little | do | do |
| Lieutenant | J. J. Chisholm | do | do |
| Ensign | Abel Becker | do | do |
| | John M. R. Macpherson | do | do |

*Names of Officers Wounded.*

| Rank. | Names. | When Wounded. | Where Wounded. | Whether Dead. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Captain | Hon. James Ramsay | Sept. 10, 1799 | Zype | |
| Colonel | Marquis of Huntly | Oct. 2, —— | do | |
| Captain | John Cameron | do | do | |
| | Alexander Gordon | do | do | |
| | Peter Grant | do | do | |
| | John Maclean | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | George Fraser | do | do | |
| | Charles Chadd | do | do | |
| | Norman Macleod | do | do | |
| | Donald Macdonald | do | do | |
| Ensign | Charles Cameron | do | do | |
| | John Macpherson | do | do | |
| | James Bent | do | do | |
| | G. W. Holmes | do | do | |
| Lieut.-Col. | Charles Erskine | Mar. 13, 1801 | Aboukir | Died of Wnds. |
| Captain | John Ramsay | do | do | March 23. |
| | Archibald Macdonald | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Norman Macleod | do | do | do. April. |
| | Charles Doule | do | do | do. March 16. |
| | Donald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | Tomlin Campbell | do | do | do. do. 17. |
| | Alexander Clarke | do | do | do. do. 24. |
| | Ronald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | Alexander Cameron | do | do | |
| Ensign | Peter Wilkie | do | do | |
| Captain | John Cameron | do 21, do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Stewart Matheson | do | do | |
| | Archibald Macdonald | Jan. 16, 1809 | Corunna | do |
| | James Hill | May 3, 1811 | Fuentes d'Onor | |
| Major | Peter Grant | do 5, do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Allan Macnab | do | do | do. May 10. |
| Lieut.-Col. | John Cameron | Oct. 28, do | Arroyo del Molino | |
| Captain | Donald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | John Macpherson | do | do | |
| | Nugent Dunbar | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Andrew Will | Nov. 11, 1812 | do | |
| Lieut.-Col. | John Cameron | July 25, 1813 | Pyrenees | |
| Major | James Mitchell | do | do | |
| | John Macpherson | do | do | |
| Captain | G. W. Holmes | do | do | |
| | Ronald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | Samuel Bevan | do | do | do. August. |
| Lieutenant | William Fyfe | do | do | |
| | Donald Macpherson | do | do | |
| | John J. Chisholm | do | do | |
| | Donald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | John Durie | do | do | |
| | James Ker Ross | do | do | |
| | Robert Winchester | do | do | |
| | George Gordon | do | do | |
| | John Grant | do | do | |
| Ensign | Alexander Macdonald | do | do | do. do. |

| Rank. | Names. | When Wounded. | Where Wounded. | Whether Dead. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ensign | George Mitchell | July 25, 1813 | Pyrences | |
| | Ewen Kennedy | do | do | Died of Wnds. |
| Captain | G. W. Holmes | do 30, do | do | August 6. |
| Major | John Macpherson | do 31, do | do | do |
| Captain | James Seaton | do | do | |
| | James Lee | do | do | |
| | Dougald Campbell | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | James Hope | do | do | |
| Captain | G. W. Holmes | Dec. 13, do | Bayonne | |
| | Ronald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | Donald Macpherson | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | J. J. Chisholm | do | do | |
| | Robert Winchester | do | do | |
| | Ronald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | John Cattanagh | do | do | |
| | George Mitchell | do | do | |
| Ensign | William Fraser | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Richard Macdonnell | Feb. 14, 1814 | St Sever | |
| Captain | James Seaton | do 15, do | do | do. February. |
| | William Fyfe | March 2, do | Ayre | |
| Lieutenant | J. A. Durie | do | do | |
| | Richard Macdonnell | do | do | |
| Major | James Mitchell (Lt.-Col.) | June 16, 1815 | Quatre Bras | |
| Captain | G. W. Holmes | do | do | |
| | Dougal Campbell | do | do | |
| | W. C. Grant | do | do | do. June. |
| Lieutenant | Thomas Hobbs | do | do | |
| | Thomas Mackintosh | do | do | |
| | Robert Winchester | do | do | |
| | Ronald Macdonnell | do | do | |
| | James Kerr Ross | do | do | |
| | George Logan | do | do | |
| | John Mackinlay | do | do | |
| | George Mackie | do | do | |
| | Alexander Macpherson | do | do | |
| | Ewen Ross | do | do | |
| | Hector M'Innes | do | do | |
| Ensign | John Barnwell | do | do | |
| | Robert Logan | do | do | |
| | Angus Macdonald | do | do | |
| | Robert Hewitt | do | do | |
| Assist. Surg. | John Stewart | do | do | |
| Captain | Peter Wilkie | do 18, do | Waterloo | |
| | Archibald Ferrier | do | do | |
| Lieutenant | Robert Winchester | do | do | |
| | Donald Macdonald | do | do | |
| | James Kerr Ross | do | do | |
| | James Hope | do | do | |

# MUTINIES

OF THE

# HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

In reference to the mutinies of the 42d and other Highland regiments, it may be asked, how has it happened that acts of insubordination should have occurred among men, whose conduct has, in other respects, been orderly and obedient? The answer to this may partly be found in the peculiar dispositions and habits of the Highlanders. These peculiarities I have attempted to explain. One of the most prominent, and which most powerfully influenced their conduct, was the bond of fidelity and affection by which they were held to their superiors and to one another. Accustomed to yield implicit obedience to their immediate chiefs, who durst not break a compact with a people subject to them, chiefly through the ties of love and hereditary reverence, and accustomed also to have promises punctually fulfilled, this implicit submission was not yielded, when they had rights to preserve, or agreements to be fulfilled. In later times, when they entered the King's service, they considered themselves as a contracting party in the agreements made with Government, from whom they naturally expected the same punctual performance of their engagements, as well as some degree, at least, of the kindness and attention which they and their fathers had met with, from their ancient and hereditary chieftains. When they found themselves, therefore, disappointed in these respects, and the terms which had been expressly stipulated with his Majesty's officers violated, the Highlanders, naturally irritable and high-spirited, warmly resented such unexpected treatment. Hence the real origin of the resistance to authority in Highland regiments, as will be rendered more evident by a plain narrative of facts.

The mutiny and desertion of the old Highland Regiment, or Black Watch, has already been noticed; and I shall now give a brief detail of similar acts of insubordination among other Highland corps. By placing the whole in one view, instead of introducing each under the proper section of the different regiments, the general principle will be rendered the more apparent.

## MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

In the year 1779, this corps was ordered up from Fort George for embarkation, and quartered in Burntisland and Kinghorn. Soon after they arrived there, great numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation. In the evening of the third day, each company gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of bounty-money unpaid, &c. and accompanied their statement with a declaration, that, till these were satisfactorily settled, they would not embark. They requested, at the same time, that Lord Macdonald, the chief and patron of the regiment, should be sent for to see justice done to them. An answer not having been returned soon enough, or in the manner they expected, they marched away in a body, and took possession of a hill above

the town of Burntisland, continuing firm to their purpose, but abstaining from all violence; and when several other young soldiers wished to join them, perhaps as much for the sake of the frolic as any thing else, they ordered them back to their quarters, telling them they had no cause of complaint, and no claims to be adjusted; and that, therefore, they ought to obey their officers, and do their duty, and leave them (the Highlanders) to answer for their conduct.

Things remained in this state for some days, the Highlanders regularly sending parties to the town for provisions, and paying punctually for what they procured. It happened fortunately, that the regiment was at that time commanded by Major Alexander Donaldson, an officer of great experience, and not less firm than conciliating. Born in the Highlands, he had served for nineteen years in the 42d Regiment, and understood perfectly the peculiar habits and dispositions of his countrymen. Aided by Lieutenant Robert Barclay, the paymaster, an investigation took place, and every man's claim was clearly made out. When this statement was laid before Lord Macdonald on his arrival, he advanced the money claimed by the soldiers, which amounted to a considerable sum, taking upon himself the risk of recovering it from those whose conduct had nearly ruined a brave and honourable body of men, as they afterwards proved themselves to be. The result showed how this act of insubordination was thought of, for no man was brought to trial, or even put in confinement; and when all was settled, they embarked with the greatest alacrity.

## ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

### OR SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.*

At the peace of 1783, this regiment was marched to Portsmouth, to be embarked for the East Indies, although the terms on which they had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. They showed, however, no reluctance to embark, nor any desire to claim their discharge, to which their letters of service entitled them. On the contrary, when they came in sight of the fleet at Spithead, as they marched across Portsdown Hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. But no sooner were they quartered in Portsmouth, to wait till the transports should be ready, than distrust and discord appeared. Emissaries from London, it is affirmed, expatiated on the faithlessness of sending them to such a distance, when their term of service had expired, and inflamed them by reports of their being sold, for a certain sum per man, to the East India Company. Some of the officers, it was added, were to divide the money among themselves. Had their confidence in their officers not been thus undermined, they would not have been so easily stirred up to disobedience and disregard of their authority, and disbelief of the explanation given by those to whom they had hitherto shown the greatest attachment. But the influence of these motives having been destroyed by false insinuations against their officers, there was the less restraint on their indignation at what was but too true; that no regard was paid to the engagement by which they had bound themselves. The consequence was, a determination on the part of the soldiers to adhere to their terms of service, and not to embark for India. After some days of disorganization and misrule,* in which the officers lost all command, Government acquiesced and countermanded the order to embark.

* * A soldier of the garrison invalids was killed, and several others wounded, in an attempt to prevent the Highlanders from obtaining possession of the main-guard and garrison parade.

The following account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, was published in February 1783: "The Duke of Atholl, his uncle, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a-day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns, on the rampart, on the Highlanders, but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them."

Another account states,—"You may be assured I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th Regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that, excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the pitch they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid, for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed, that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the House of Commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going for the reasons there given, which, you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with."

In the course of the parliamentary debates on this subject, Lord Auckland, then Mr Eden, and Secretary of State for Ireland, said, "He had happened to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching, at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a dispatch *beyond any instance in modern times;* and this, too, without leaving a single soldier behind."

It is difficult for those who are not in the habit of mixing with the Highlanders, to believe the extent of the mischief which this unhappy misunderstanding has occasioned, and the deep and lasting impression it has left behind it. In the course of my recruiting, many years afterwards, I was often reminded of this attempt on the Athole Highlanders, which was always alleged as a confirmation of what happened, at an earlier period, to the Black Watch. This transaction, and others of a similar description, have created distrust in Government, and in the integrity of its agents.

If Government had offered a small bounty, when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth. The regiment was marched to Berwick, and disbanded conformably to the original agreement. No man was tried or punished. An inference has in consequence been drawn, and never forgotten, in the Highlands, that however unjustifiable the mode of redress, the men had just cause for complaint.

## SEAFORTH.

In the year 1778, the Seaforth Highlanders were marched to Leith, where they were quartered, for a short interval, though long enough to produce complaints about the infringement of their engagements, and some pay and bounty which they said were due to them. Their disaffection was greatly increased by the activity of emissaries from Edinburgh, like those just mentioned as having gone down from London to Portsmouth. The regiment refused to embark, and marching out of Leith, with pipes playing and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took a position on Arthur's Seat, of which they kept possession for several days, during which time the inhabitants of Edinburgh amply supplied them with provisions and ammunition. After much negotiation, a proper understanding respecting the causes of their complaint was brought about, and they marched down the hill in the same manner in which they had gone up, with pipes playing; and "with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene, at their head. They entered Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness."

In this case, as in that of the Athole Highlanders, none of the men were brought to trial, or even put into confinement, for these acts of open resistance.

## DETACHMENTS OF THE FORTY-SECOND AND SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENTS.

In April 1779, two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments were ordered from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking at Leith to join their regiments in North America. When they arrived at Leith it was notified to them that they were not to join their own regiments, but were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments. The men remonstrated, and declared openly their firm determination to serve in no corps but that for which they had engaged. After some negotiation and delay, troops were sent to Leith with orders to carry the Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they persisted in refusing to be transferred. The soldiers having refused to comply, an attempt was made to enforce the orders. The Highlanders flew to arms, and a desperate affray ensued. Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment, and 9 men, were killed, and 31 soldiers wounded. At last the mutineers were overpowered and carried to Edinburgh Castle.

On the 6th of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers in the 42d regiment, and Robert Brydges, soldier in the 71st regiment, were brought before a court martial on the following charge: "You, and each of you, are charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith upon Tuesday, the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and many wounded."

An extract from their defence will show their reasons for resisting the orders to embark. "The prisoners Archibald Macivor and Charles Wil-

liamson enlisted as soldiers in the 42d, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic, the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of Parliament, though the philebeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The prisoner Robert Brydges stated, that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment; and in continuation of their defence the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress, and speaking the English tongue, as their officers, but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the Commander-in-Chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the Commander-in-Chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment, till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed, that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the Castle; had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But unfortunately the serjeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment, and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

The three prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but his Majesty gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they will endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly demeanour, to atone for this atrocious offence."

The detachment afterwards embarked, and joined their different regiments in America.

## BREADALBANE.

In the year 1795, a serious disturbance broke out in Glasgow, among the Breadalbane Fencibles. Several men having been confined and threatened with corporal punishment, considerable discontent and irritation were excited among their comrades, which increased to such violence, that, when some men were confined in the guard-house, a great proportion of the regiment rushed out and forcibly released the prisoners. This violation of military discipline was not to be passed over, and accordingly measures were immediately taken to secure the ringleaders, and bring them to punishment. But so many were equally concerned, that it was difficult to fix on the proper subjects for punishment. And here was shown a trait of character worthy of a better cause, and which originated from a feeling alive to the disgrace of a degrading punishment. The soldiers being made sensible of the nature of their misconduct, and the consequent punishment, *four men voluntarily offered themselves to stand trial,* and suffer the sentence of the law as an atonement for the whole. These men were accordingly marched to Edinburgh Castle, tried, and condemned to be shot. Three of them were afterwards reprieved, and the fourth was shot on Musselburgh sands.

On the march to Edinburgh, a circumstance occurred, the more worthy of notice, as it shows a strong principle of honour and fidelity to his word and to his officer in a common Highland soldier.

One of the men stated to the officer commanding the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that, as to himself, he was fully prepared to meet his fate; but with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled, and that, if the officer would suffer him to return to Glasgow, a few hours there would be sufficient, and he would join him before he reached Edinburgh, and march as a prisoner with the party. The soldier added, "You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the Castle." This was a startling proposal to the officer, who was a judicious humane man, and knew perfectly his risk and responsibility in yielding to such an extraordinary application. However, his confidence was such, that he complied with the request of the prisoner, who returned to Glasgow at night, settled his business, and left the town before day-light, to redeem his pledge. He took a long circuit to avoid being seen, apprehended as a deserter, and sent back to Glasgow, as probably his account of his officer's indulgence would not have been credited. In consequence of this caution, and the lengthened march through woods and over hills by an unfrequented route, there was no appearance of him at the hour appointed. The perplexity of the officer when he reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh may be easily imagined. He moved forward slowly indeed, but no soldier appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he marched up to the Castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report was given in, Macmartin, the

absent soldier, rushed in among his fellow prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

In whatever light the conduct of the officer (my respectable friend Major Colin Campbell) may be considered, either by military men or others, in this memorable exemplification of the characteristic principle of his countrymen, fidelity to their word, it cannot but be wished that the soldier's magnanimous self-devotion had been taken as an atonement for his own misconduct and that of the whole. It was not from any additional guilt that the man who suffered was shot. It was determined that only one should suffer, and the four were ordered to draw lots. The fatal chance fell upon William Sutherland, who was executed accordingly.

## GRANT.

The year 1795 exhibited another instance of insubordination, originating in horror of the disgrace which, according to Highlanders' views, could not fail to attach to themselves and their country from an infamous punishment for crimes not in themselves infamous, in the moral sense of the word: for it is necessary to make a distinction between this and the feeling excited among these men when punishments are awarded for disgraceful crimes. In cases where soldiers were guilty, or were suspected of bringing shame on themselves by actions unbecoming good men, I have always observed that the soldiers were anxious they should be brought to the punishment their crimes deserved.

The mutiny of the Grant was, in every respect, similar in its cause, object, and consequences, to that of the Breadalbane Fencibles. Several men were put into confinement, and threatened with punishment. The idea was insupportable to many of the soldiers, who, in defiance of their officers, broke out and released the prisoners. Sir James Grant, the colonel and patron of the regiment, hurried to Dumfries, where the regiment was then quartered. But he was too late; and the violation of order and military discipline was too glaring to be passed over. The regiment was removed to Musselburgh, where Corporal Macdonald, Charles and Alexander Mackintosh, Alexander Fraser, and Duncan Macdougall, were tried and condemned to be shot. The corporal was pardoned, and the three soldiers were ordered to draw lots, (Alexander Fraser was not permitted to draw,) when the fatal chance fell on Charles Mackintosh, who, with Fraser, was shot on Gullane Links, on the 16th July 1795.

## CANADIAN.

In the year 1804, orders were issued to raise a regiment in the Highlands, to be called the Canadian Fencibles, and to serve in Canada only. Owing to several circumstances the corps was speedily filled up. One extensive glen in Inverness-shire was in that year improved in the modern style, and depopulated. Several other detached parts of the country were similarly treated. To the young and active, who had thus lost their homes and usual mode of subsistence, this corps appeared to present the means of reaching a country whither many of their friends and immediate neighbours had gone before them, and where they were taught to expect a permanent settlement without being subject to the "summary ejectment still practised in some parts of the north when tenants prove refractory," namely, burning their houses about their ears, a mode of ejecting a virtuous peasantry, for which the civilized revivers of this obsolete, but efficient practice, have not received the notice they merit.

The men of this corps were ordered to assemble in Glasgow, where it was discovered that the most scandalous deceptions had been practised upon them, and that terms had been promised which Government would not, and could not, sanction. The persons who had thus deceived these poor men by representing the terms in a more favourable light than truth would justify, obtained a great number of recruits without any, or for a very small bounty.

When these men discovered their real situation, they were loud in their remonstrances, and, becoming very disorderly and disobedient, were ready to break out into open mutiny. But an immediate inquiry being made into the foundation of their complaints by General Wemyss, who then commanded in Glasgow, they were found to be of such a nature, that it was necessary to satisfy them; and as this could not be done in the manner and to the extent promised, the regiment, consisting of 800 men, was marched to Ayr, and there disbanded. The ordering them so far south from Greenock, the port of embarkation for Canada, gave a kind of confirmation to the previous report, that they were to be sent to the Isle of Wight, and thence to the East or West Indies. After being discharged, it was an additional cause of discontent that they had been sent so much farther from home, and that those who still intended to go to Canada were so much farther removed from the usual place of embarkation. As the second battalions of the 78th and 79th regiments were, at that time, recruiting, numbers of the men enlisted with Colonel Cameron, and a few (twenty-two) with me, for the 78th. Several who had money to pay for the passage emigrated to America. Those who had not the means spread themselves all over the country, proclaiming their wrongs, and thus helping to destroy the confidence of their countrymen, not only in Government, but in all public men, whom they now began to think totally unworthy of credit.

The happy auspices under which the British army is now placed, the justice done to the soldier, and the regard paid to his comforts, and even to his feelings as a man, are the best and most certain security against future acts of insubordination. It is, therefore, the less necessary to point out the baneful effects of using any deception towards soldiers, as the thing is now unknown; but, should any individuals be base enough to make such an attempt, the certain infamy that would follow a discovery forms an effectual preventive. It may however be useful, indeed, my great object in adverting to the unfortunate misunderstandings which occurred so close upon each other in the American War is, to show the soldier of the present day how different, and how much more honourable, his treatment now is, contrasted with the deceptions practised on credulous and unsuspicious men, which, by rendering them jealous and distrustful, were so pernicious in their effects to the service in general, and tended to give an unfavourable impression of their character, where these circumstances were unknown.

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NOTE to Page 436.

ALTHOUGH so much has already been said about national corps, distinguished by their garb, or otherwise, I may still add a few observations on the effect the Highland regiments have had in directing the notice

of the public to the military character of Scotland, which is now so much blended with the sister kingdom, that, while we hear of the English Parliament, and the English navy and army, Scotland is never once mentioned. In the great naval victories of Britain, we have never heard of Scotch sailors; neither should we hear of the soldiers of Scotland, were it not for those corps distinguished by national marks; and the northern part of the kingdom would have been as low in military as in naval fame, and as unnoticed at Waterloo and Alexandria as at Trafalgar and Aboukir. In Keith's and Campbell's corps in Germany in the Seven Years' War, 1,200 Highlanders gave celebrity to the warlike character of Scotland; at the same time that (on a calculation from the usual proportions) there were at least 3,000 Scotch soldiers intermixed with the English regiments under Prince Ferdinand; but, although each of these men had been as brave as Julius Cæsar, we should never have heard of Scotland. Fortunately, however, there was no mistaking "the brave band of Highlanders," with their plaids and broadswords. The assault of St Sebastian was most desperate, and called forth stronger proofs of bravery than almost any enterprise of the Peninsular Campaigns. On that occasion there was three times the number of Scotch officers and soldiers belonging to the different regiments engaged, than there was at Arroyos de Molinos, where the Gordon Highlanders were engaged, and where a detachment of the French army was surprised and dispersed. This was a mere skirmish in comparison of the assault at St Sebastian, in which Scotland was never mentioned, while the other affair, with men distinguished by a particular garb, is introduced into the ballads of the country, and the tune of "Hey Johnnie Cope" has gained additional celebrity by being played that morning when the piper struck up the advance, in quick time, to the attack. It is well known that no regiment was more distinguished in the Duke of Wellington's campaigns than the late 94th, or Scotch Brigade, and that a great proportion of the men, and two-thirds of the officers, were Scotch, and yet that courage, of which the French saw so many examples, never furnished them with one idea favourable or unfavourable of Scotland; because the Scotchmen had not a distinguishing mark. Neither the enemy nor our allies could know from what country they came. In short, if there were no Scotch regiments, and no Highland uniform, we should hear no more of the military character than we do of the naval exploits of Scotland. There might be, as there always are, many individual instances of distinguished merit, but there would be no national character.

Few regiments are more purely Scotch than the Greys. When the invincible charges made by this regiment at Waterloo called forth the admiration of Buonaparte, who exclaimed, "Qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris," he knew not of what country they were. But, when he saw the Gordon Highlanders, in their kilts and bonnets, charge his solid columns, he at one glance discovered their country, and, while they contributed so much to blast his earthly glory, he could not suppress his admiration of "*Les braves Ecossais.*"

If the men of the Black Watch had been distributed among other regiments in the year 1739, instead of being kept together as a separate corps, and if no Highland corps had been subsequently formed, the extent to which the Scotch retain the martial character of their ancestors would have been unknown. But this individualization of national corps has afforded a full opportunity of appreciating character. The regiments who served under Gustavus Adolphus, and the brigades who were in the service of Holland, reflected honour on the Scottish name. National corps

are accordingly respected to this day. In Scotland this feeling is still strong, and many look back with sentiments of additional respect to the memory and penetration of the Lord President Forbes, who contemplated these advantages, and first proposed their establishment in the north.

Except in two instances in the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns, where the Greys are mentioned, Scotland or Scotch soldiers are no more noticed than the soldiers of the ancient kingdom of the Picts, nor are they mentioned in the later battles of Dettingen, Minden, &c. In one word, were it not for these national bodies of men in distinct corps, Scotland must look back to the days of Wallace, Bruce, Chevy Chase, Flodden, and the campaigns of Montrose, for its military character. In the Highlands, indeed, there have been insulated cases, such as that of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel; and the events of 1745 and 1746 gave the clans some opportunities of showing their courage; but undisciplined, almost unarmed, and without the confidence inspired by the consciousness of supporting a legal, (although they believed it to be an honourable cause,) they were, in many respects, unfortunate; and in the last struggle were brought into the field under great disadvantages. It is to after times, therefore, that we are to look for the consolidation of the present military character of Scotland; and although the people of this country cannot talk of their sailors or their ships, they can look to their soldiers and regiments without a blush, and exhibit them as a sample of the national character. Now, where could the sample be found in sufficient numbers to form a proper estimate, were it not for corps so marked that they could not be mistaken? When these national corps were properly constituted; when men believed that preserving or disgracing their own character was reflected on their corps and native country, the effect was conspicuous. The dress, too, had its influence, not only on the soldiers, but on individuals, in reviving or preserving a love of their country.*

* Some opinion may be formed of the importance which Government attached to the garb by the tenor of the following oath, administered in 1747 and 1748, in Fort William and other places where the people were assembled for the purpose; those who refused to take it being treated as rebels: "I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property,—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations,—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath." The framers of this oath understood the character of the Highlanders. The abolition of the feudal power of the chiefs, and the disarming act, had little influence on the character of the people in comparison of the grief, indignation, and disaffection occasioned by the loss of their garb.

When the late Gordon Fencibles were reviewed in 1794 by his Majesty in Hyde Park, an old friend of mine, a native of the Highlands, which he had left in early life, resided in London. At the commencement of the French Revolution, he imbibed many of the new opinions, became an imaginary citizen of the world, and would not allow that he had any country. When the Highland regiment was reviewed, he refused to accompany a friend to the review, saying, in his usual style, that he had no country or countrymen. However, he was prevailed upon to go; and when he saw the regiment, the plaids, and the bonnets, and heard the sound of the pipes, the memory of former days returned with such force, that his heart swelled, his eyes filled with tears, and, bursting away from his friend, he exclaimed, "I have a country, after all: the sight of these poor fellows has given me a truer lesson than all my boasted philosophy." Ever afterwards, he used to smile at his sudden con-

The only old Highland regiment we have, who can look back to deeds in former wars, is the 42d. Even the few English and Irish who have latterly been found in the ranks, have been roused and warmed by recollecting the character of their predecessors, (though not of their country,) but which, at the same time, they considered themselves bound to support. How much greater, then, must be the effect of this talisman, if properly applied by an officer of judgment, to the feelings of mountaineers, in all countries enthusiastically attached to their native land? The Black Watch was established in the days of our great-grandfathers, and we have heard our fathers and grandfathers speak with enthusiasm of the manly and chivalrous virtues and personal appearance of these men. Hence it is that in the North the people look with the same respect and regard to this corps as they do to their ancestors and men of their own blood and kindred. There are few who have not at some period had a relation who served in it.

The popularity which this and other corps obtained in former wars, and the ease with which their ranks were filled, induced several noblemen and gentlemen to attempt raising regiments in the same manner, habited in the ancient Celtic garb. Government having given great encouragement to the measure, more Highland corps were embodied than what, perhaps, the districts whose name they bore could supply with men in the consumption of an active and lengthened warfare, when great numbers entered into other corps, and engaged in other avocations,—the consequence of the spirit of improvement and speculation that rose and increased with the war. It was, therefore, found necessary, as has been more than once mentioned, to change the designation and garb of six Highland regiments, and assimilate them to the English uniform. But now, when there are only five Highland regiments, a sufficient supply of men for the vacancies occasioned by natural casualties (which in healthy stations must be few) ought to be obtained from a country containing, as is said, a surplus population. But that a difficulty of doing this exists is evident from the circumstance of Highland regiments having recruiting parties in Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c. Various causes may be assigned for this seeming want of patriotism and disinclination to a military life among the Highlanders. * I shall notice one which materially influences successful recruiting; and that is, the idle and too general reports of the destruction of lives in the Highland regiments. It has been stated, in newspapers, and firmly believed in the North, that, during twelve years of the late war, nearly 14,000 men were killed and disabled in the 42d alone; when, in fact, the whole number which belonged to the regiment in a service of seventy-five years was only 8792. † The 79th and other Highland corps are said to have

version, and, as he informed me, never missed an opportunity of visiting his native country.

* I have already stated the supposed want of military spirit noticed by different writers. Sir George Mackenzie, in a Report of the county of Ross, says, "The Highlanders are trumpeted forth as our only resource for soldiers, whilst it is notorious that the inhabitants have a strong aversion to a military life." In the Islands, also, the military spirit is asserted to be so completely broken, that, according to Dr Macculloch, who states that he speaks from abundant information, "it may be truly said, that the population of 60,000 Highland insulars, which, according to the ordinary average of European military supply, would have afforded 600 soldiers, was defended, during the late war, by the artisans and manufacturers of England and the low country." Such, on the authority of these writers, and of others not necessary to mention, is the low state of patriotism and courage among the once chivalrous, warlike, and high-minded Highlanders. The time has been when they were not

† See page xcv.

suffered in the same manner. So firm and prevalent is this belief, that, when young men enter those regiments, it is considered much the same as if sentence of death had been passed upon them. Now, allowing young men a fair share of courage and military ardour, they may hesitate to enter on duties where death is said to be the certain consequence; and even should they evince an inclination for the army, they will find their families and friends decidedly hostile to their wishes. This would not be the case, nor would arguments be used to damp the spirit of young men, if the truth were known. But so misled are the people on these points, that they believe the 42d left 500 men on the field at Fontenoy, although only 30 were killed; that half the regiment fell at Alexandria, (only 48 were killed;) and that more than 500 were destroyed at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, when, in fact, there were only 40 men killed in the one and 5 in the other. This prejudiced view of the subject does not give full play to the military spirit of young men; and while it principally originates in the idle vanity of young soldiers, who talk loudly of the heavy lists of killed and wounded, under an erroneous idea, that the more men killed in battle, the greater credit to those engaged; when, in fact, *it is quite the reverse.* With a few exceptions in peculiar emergencies, as that of the 42d at Ticonderoga and Alexandria, their loss has in no manner exceeded that of other regiments, and in many cases been much less, as at Fontenoy, where they were engaged in almost every part of the field where the greatest resistance and danger were expected, and at last covered the retreat, and kept the enemy at a respectful distance; and all this with the trifling loss just mentioned.

In the late war of twenty-one years, ending in 1814, the number killed of the 42d regiment amounts to 235, of the 78th (first battalion) to 103, of the 79th to 89, of the 92d to 181, and of the 93d to 60; in all, 668 men of these five regiments killed in battle. The number of men who served in these five regiments was about 20,500; of whom 668 have, in twenty-one years, been lost to their country by the hand of the enemy; being nearly in the proportion of 1 man out of every 30; or, taking the compound ratio of the numbers, (20,500,) and of the time, (twenty-one years,) the proportion of killed to the sum total of men would be as 1 to 661. If 1 man out of every 30 were killed annually instead of in twenty-one years, the war would not have been so bloody as it has often been called. It is fortunate for the military character of this country that the scale is so moderate; for, so far from a long list of casualties being a proof of bravery, it is generally a proof of the very reverse. The greatest loss is generally sustained in a defeat, and more are wounded when men are stationary, or in a slow and hesitating advance, than in a bold and rapid attack. Experience has shown, and in nine cases out of ten it will be found, that numerous wounds inflicted on individuals have usually been received when they were not in their proper place in their corps,—when either in the rear, out of the line of their duty, or separated by some means from their comrades. When men boldly face their enemy in a compact body, in close support of each other, they are so equally exposed to danger, that it is very rare indeed for any individual to receive many more wounds than those close to him. If officers and soldiers keep steady with the body of their regiment, there will be less danger, and fewer wounds, than if they allow themselves to be separated. When men are in a line, for example, the enemy's shot, after passing it, can do no farther mischief, the surface exposed being rendered

afraid or unwilling to defend themselves or their country without the assistance of Perth, Paisley, or Manchester weavers.

less by the linear formation. But when men are broken and separated, they become like the pieces on a chess board; the shot which passes one will hit another, and the same shot may thus disable a considerable number of individuals. By firing into the rabble of a crowd, more men will suffer than by firing against the same individuals, at the same given distance, after these individuals have been drawn up in military array.

When men talk of heavy loss sustained in battle, it should be remembered that the smaller the loss the greater the honour, if successful, and, *vice versâ*, the more loss the less honour. The killed and wounded of a native army in India, in the time of Hyder Ali, would carry away the palm from the bloodiest of our battles; yet we do not find that a great loss to the army of the Sultan was considered as a mark of courage or military conduct. On the contrary, they are considered as improving in military skill when they fight with smaller loss than formerly. The French understand these matters well; and while they loudly proclaim their victories, and omit nothing that can give them an air of importance, they do not talk of their losses, nor endeavour to swell them by detailing every casualty, however trifling, afraid lest any should escape notice. They act differently, and justly believing that victory is more valuable, and more honourable, if gained with small loss, they rather lessen than exaggerate the amount. Hence the country and the army being told, and wishing to believe, that their battles are easily won, an idea of great superiority is entertained.

Many men are cool, collected, and firm, whatever the danger may be; nothing, on the other hand, makes some men more brave, than when they think there is no danger. Hence we may discover one cause of the rapidity with which the ranks of the French army were so easily and so frequently completed, even after their most disastrous defeats. Would young men have served so readily had they been told that the enemy annihilated a whole corps in one battle, and that one regiment lost near 14,000 men in the course of twelve years? Would they not have also been startled, and felt hesitation in joining a regiment which has been called, as the 42d has been in the Highlands, the "graves of the brave," or in more homely language, "the slaughter-house of the youth of the north?" Such accounts of death and destruction disparage and deteriorate the national character. They are unjust towards our brave troops, damp their ardour, check recruiting, and would lower their military fame, were it true that they cannot overcome an enemy without great destruction to themselves. How different this is from the fact will be seen by reference to Maida, Salamanca, Vittoria, Quatre Bras; in short, to every occasion where the troops have been led on with judgment and skill, or have not been met by overwhelming numbers. At Maida, only 1 man out of every 104 engaged was killed; at Salamanca, 1 out of 90; at Vittoria, 1 out of 74; and at Quatre Bras, 1 out of 40. * Without noticing fractions, these are

* In our navy all the great victories have also been gained with small comparative loss, while that of the enemy was frequently great beyond all proportion. The loss in some of the single actions was hardly worth notice, except in the great superiority proved by a comparison of the number which fell on each side. In the instance of the Guerrier frigate, captured by Captain Robert Barlow, with only 11 killed and wounded, the loss of the French frigate was about 300 men. The Guerrier, to be sure, was crowded with men, but still there was no disparity of numbers that could balance the difference of killed and wounded. This must have proceeded from the ability with which the commander manœuvred his ship, the courage and coolness of the officers and sailors, and the precision with which they took their aim. In Lord Howe's battle of the 1st of June 1794, the number of British engaged was 26

the proportions, and cannot be called deadly. Wherever British troops have sustained a heavy loss, it has, in four cases out of five, been occasioned by some untoward accident, some error of judgment, or some unexpected obstruction. The only instance in which Fraser's Highlanders of the American War gave way before an enemy, was at Cowpens in South Carolina. In this case the loss was treble the amount of that in any other of the severe struggles in which that brave and estimable corps was engaged during the war, and in all which, except at Cowpens, the enemy were defeated. The loss of the 42d at Toulouse was principally occasioned by the inadvertency of occupying a wrong position; and at Quatre Bras the greatest loss was sustained by permitting the enemy's cavalry to come too near, from the impression that they were Belgians, a mistake originating in the similarity of uniform. Both at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, the casualties of the Cameron and Gordon Highlanders, in resisting the most desperate charges of the enemy, and in the rapid advances by which they were driven back, were light. It was from the succeeding desultory and distant firing, a mode of warfare in which the French excel, that the men suffered so much. Had circumstances permitted, and had it been possible to support the corps who fought independently at Quatre Bras, there is not a doubt, that they would have completely repulsed the enemy with very little comparative loss. Hence, while reports of great losses, which are seldom well founded, check recruiting, lower the character of our troops, and raise the confidence of the enemy, the extreme correctness with which our lists of casualties are frequently drawn up may be noticed. It is certainly impossible to object to this correctness, but perhaps it is going beyond the line, to include all trifling scratches and bruises which in no manner disable men from the performance of their duty. Instances have occurred where reported losses were so quickly replaced, as to seem like resurrections, as, indeed, they have been called. Few will be disposed to believe, that our troops fight less desperately at present than sixty or seventy years ago; yet a comparison between the killed and wounded in different battles might lead to such an inference. In many battles of the late war, the wounded have been six to one of the killed, and in some cases ten and twelve to one. At Fontenoy the amount of the killed and wounded was 1269 of the former, and 2141 of the latter, officers included. At Culloden, where there was some desperate fighting, the Athole brigade had 19 officers killed and 4 wounded, and Stewart of Appin's regiment had 14 officers killed and 11 wounded, with men in nearly the same proportion. Now, the difference of the present proportions of wounded to killed may in part be ascribed to the over accuracy of our reports. In distant

sail of the line, with 17,000 men. Of these 281 were killed, that is, in the proportion of nearly 1 to 60. In Lord Bridport's action of the 23d of June 1795, there were 14 sail with about 10,000 men, of whom 113 were killed, or 1 of 87 of those present. In the action off Cape St Vincents, there were 15 sail, with about 10,000 men, of whom 73 were killed, being 1 to 136. In Lord Duncan's action, on the 11th of October 1797, there were 16 sail, (including two 50's,) with about 8,000 men, of whom 191 were killed, being as 1 to 41 of those in action. In the battle of the Nile there were 14 sail of the line, with about 8,000 men, of whom 218 were killed, or 1 in 36. In Lord Nelson's attack on Copenhagen, 1801, there were 11 sail of the line and 5 frigates engaged, with about 7,000 men, of whom 234 were killed, or 1 in 39. In the battle of Trafalgar, there were 27 sail, with about 17,000 men, of whom 412 were killed, being as 1 to 41; and in this proportion was the loss in almost all other actions. In the last action, that of Algiers, the loss was considerable, but this is more to be attributed to the ships being exposed to the fire of batteries, than to any difference in firmness or manner of fighting.

firing, wounds may be more numerous, but they will in general be less severe, and, as has been already stated, the fewer killed the more honourable the victory. If a race horse gain the stakes with ease, his superiority is greatly enhanced. If a cool and scientific boxer repels every blow of his opponent, and covers him with blood and bruises, while he suffers little himself, his prowess is established.

When the British lost 41 men killed at Maida, and the enemy more than 1,300 buried in the field, both armies consisting of disciplined troops, (and there being a great superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy,) on a fair field, without any natural advantage on either side, to whom should the palm of superiority be given? And would this superiority be so conspicuous had the British had 1,300 killed, and wounded in proportion? Their victory would have been so dearly bought, that another such would have been their ruin, * whereas they were quite ready, the same evening, to follow up the blow, while the enemy were entirely scattered, cowed, and totally unable to show themselves. So completely was their spirit broken, that whenever a man with a red coat appeared, they fled with precipitation and terror. † These were the consequences of the heavy loss they sustained in battle.

But let it not be believed that I argue in this manner from any apprehension of diminished courage. If our soldiers are commanded by men who understand their character, and can work upon their feelings, they will prove, that, if placed in front of an enemy on equal terms, they will conquer, as their predecessors have frequently done, with a loss so small, as not to lessen their strength in any material degree, or to disable them from pursuing their future operations.

## NOTE to Page xci. of the Appendix.

*General Statement of the Number of Men that belonged to the 43d, now the 42d, or Royal Highland Regiment, from the 24th of April 1740, to the 24th of June 1815.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the year 1740, when the regiment was embodied at Aberfeldy, in Perthshire, and quartered near Tay Bridge and the Point of Lyon, these being their places for exercise, the ten companies consisted of 5 serjeants, 2 pipers or drummers, and 80 men each, - - | 870 | |
| In 1745, three companies, of 5 serjeants and 100 men each, were added, | 315 | |
| These companies remained at home, and sent reinforcements to the regiment when required. | | |
| Recruits raised from 1746 to 1748, - - - - | 90 | |
| Total from 1740 to the peace of 1748, - - | | 1,275 |
| In 1748, the three additional companies were reduced, and about 500 men were discharged. | | |
| Carry forward, - - - | | 1,275 |

* After the battle of Malplaquet, Villars, in his dispatch, consoles his sovereign, that, by six more such victories as the enemy had gained, they would be destroyed.

† Several instances of this occurred. Two days after the action, a corporal and three soldiers escorting General Stuart's luggage, mistook their road, and, instead of taking that to Monte Leone, followed the road to Cotrona, on which a corps of the enemy had retreated, and were resting themselves in a field near a rising ground. When the corporal was seen advancing on the summit, a cry of "the English are coming," "the English are coming," was passed, and without waiting to see their number or strength, the enemy instantly fled. The corporal, seeing his mistake, and perhaps equally alarmed, retired by the road he had advanced, and followed the proper route.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brought forward, | | 1,275 |
| Recruits from 1749 to 1755, | 89 | |
| In 1756, the regiment was placed on the war establishment. The number of recruits raised in nine weeks was | 750 | |
| In 1758, seven companies, of 120 men each, were raised and formed into a second battalion at Perth, on 20th October, | 840 | |
| In 1759, a detachment of recruits joined, | 125 | |
| In 1761, do. do. | 90 | |
| Total from the peace of 1748 to the peace of 1763, | | 1,894 |
| When the regiment left America in 1767, all the soldiers who preferred remaining either volunteered into other regiments or were discharged in that country. So many made this choice, that, along with the deaths and those who had been previously discharged, the regiment was very weak in numbers. However, in a few weeks the recruits raised amounted to | 200 | |
| In 1770, the strength of the regiment was augmented, and there were added, including serjeants, | 144 | |
| Recruits from 1770 till 1775, | 96 | |
| In 1775, the regiment was again placed on the war establishment, and in ten weeks there were recruited, including serjeants, | 876 | |
| A part of this number remained at home, and reinforcements sent to America as occasion required. | | |
| In 1779, drafts from Chatham were sent to the regiment, | 152 | |
| These were removed to other regiments, and Scotchmen received in exchange. | | |
| In 1781, a detachment of recruits from Scotland, | 120 | |
| Also a draft from the Scotch Fusileers, &c. | 30 | |
| Total from the peace of 1763 to the peace of 1783, | | 1,618 |
| At the latter period, a number of men were discharged, and the establishment reduced to 350 men. The corps being very healthy in Nova Scotia, no recruits were sent out. The regiment came home in 1789, when there joined | 230 | |
| In 1790, recruits, | 29 | |
| In 1791, an independent company, raised by the Marquis of Huntly, was ordered to the regiment, | 97 | |
| Recruits in 1791, | 34 | |
| Recruits in 1792, | 47 | |
| From 25th June 1793 to 24th June 1815, the number of men discharged was 1,485; the number killed in action, 280; died by sickness and wounds, 1,135; unaccounted for, having been left sick in an enemy's country, prisoners, &c. 138 men; and the numbers remaining in the first battalion on the 24th June 1815 was 530 men. Thus, as the dead, discharged, missing, and still remaining in the regiment on that day, must include the whole who joined within the period, we find the number of men to have been | 3,568 | |
| Total from the peace of 1783 to the peace of 1815, | | 4,005 |
| Grand Total of men in the Black Watch, and 42d or Royal Highland Regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April 1740 to 24th June 1815, | | 8,792 |

N. B.—The second battalion of the year 1758 is included in the number of men in the first battalion, as, with the exception of the expedition of the second to Martinique and Guadaloupe in 1759, both battalions were always employed in the same service.

The second battalion of 1780 is not included, as there was no exchange of men or officers between it and the first battalion.

The second battalion of 1803 is also kept separate. The number of men who died in this battalion from December 1803 to 24th October 1814 was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

*General Statement of the Number of Men received by the 78th, or Seaforth Highlanders; also of the number Dead, Discharged, Deserted, or Prisoners, and transferred to other Regiments; from the date of the issuing of the Letters of Service, on the 8th of March 1793, till 24th June 1820.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Number of men recruited from the formation till the 24th December 1793, | 1,090 | |
| Recruits from 25th December 1793 till the peace of 1801, | 225 | |
| Drafted from the second battalion and other corps in 1795 and 1796, | 1,104 | |
| Recruits from 1801 till the peace of 1815, | 408 | |
| Volunteers from the Perth, Ross, and other militia regiments in 1808, | 290 | |
| Drafts from the second battalion from 1808 till 1814, | 646 | |
| Transfers from other regiments till this date, | 26 | |
| Recruits from the peace of 1815 till the 24th of June 1820, | 168 | |
| Drafts from the second battalion within this period, | 412 | |
| Total increase, | | 4,369 |
| Number of men killed and dead from the formation till the peace in 1801, | 573 | |
| Discharged within this period, | 449 | |
| Transferred to other regiments, | 353 | |
| Deserted or taken prisoners,* | 71 | |
| Number of men killed and dead from 1801 till the peace of 1815, | 1,382 | |
| Discharged within this period, | 305 | |
| Deserted or taken prisoners,* | 10 | |
| Transferred, | 1 | |
| Number of men dead from 1815 till 24th June 1820, | 96 | |
| Discharged, | 224 | |
| Deserted, | 1 | |
| Transferred when the regiment embarked from India in 1817, | 234 | |
| Do. to other regiments in 1818, | 32 | |
| Total decrease from 1793 till 1820, | | 3,731 |
| Effective strength of the regiment, 24th June 1820, | | 638 |

This statement includes all the changes in the 78th regiment for twenty-seven years. Similar statements respecting the other Highland regiments would give similar results. It has been already stated, that the number of men received by the 42d, from 1783 till the 24th of June 1815, was 4,005.

The service of the 42d, 79th, and 92d, was very similar, these regiments having been much employed together, and subject to the same casualties. Those of the 92d have been less, as, during the war, the regiment was not employed in the West Indies along with the other two corps. Indeed, it is not probable, that, in the Highland corps, there was any difference of vigour or of capability to support the trials of constitution incident to the

* It is proper to mention, that the men stated as prisoners or deserters, previous to 1801, were those who fell behind in the harassing marches through Holland and Westphalia during the almost unprecedented falls of snow in 1794 and 1795. The enemy being close in the rear of the army, the soldiers fell into their hands; but whether they voluntarily surrendered, or were incapable of marching, was not ascertained, though there can be little doubt that the exhaustion of the young soldiers was the cause of their falling into the hands of the enemy. The same remark applies to those who fell behind in the heavy marches in the East Indies.

profession; consequently, there could have been no material difference in the consumption of lives. Enough, therefore, has I hope been stated, to afford some idea of the loss of lives to which a body of men is subject by engaging in the military profession. This comparative statement may also afford matter for calculating the duration of life in a service such as that of the 78th, which, in the course of twenty-seven years, lost by sickness, by the hand of the enemy, and by accidental causes, 2,033 men, out of 4,369, having been exposed to every variety of climate and fatigue, marching through the snow of Westphalia in the winter of 1794 and 1795, and afterwards stationed twenty-two years in the East Indies, six of which were in Batavia, considered one of the most unhealthy stations in the East. We may also take into the account the many long and admirably conducted, but harassing, marches under Sir Arthur Wellesley, of which a brief and imperfect sketch will be found in the article on this regiment.

THE END.

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